

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1894.

CONJECTURES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ATHENS,

594-580 B.C.

THE period of Athenian history extending from Solon's year of office to the year of ten archons is a particularly attractive field for the exercise of conjecture: since the brief account of it given in 'Aθ. Πολ.' (ch. 13) tells us enough to show that a full knowledge of it would be highly interesting to the student of Greek constitutional history, yet not enough to give such a student any real instruction, unless he permits himself to interpret its meagre statements by adding conjectures and merely probable inference. I venture in the present paper to attempt such a process of conjectural interpretation. I will begin by quoting from Dr. Sandys' edition the passage from the 'Constitution of Athens' which contains almost all the information that we possess on the subject:

Σόλωνος ἀποδημήσαντος, ἔτι τῆς πόλεως τεταραγμένης, ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη τέτταρα διῆγον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν Σόλωνος ἀρχὴν οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, καὶ πάλιν ἔτι πέμπτῳ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων Δαμασίας αἰρεθείς ἄρχων ἔτη δύο καὶ δύο μῆνας ἤρξεν, ἕως ἐξηλάβη βίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἰτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἐλέσθαι δέκα, πέντε μὲν εὐπατριδῶν τρεῖς δὲ ἀγροίκων δύο δὲ δημιουργῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν ἤρξαν ἐναντιόν. ὃ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μεγίστην εἶχεν δύναμιν ὁ ἄρχων φαίνονται γὰρ αἱ στασιάζοντες περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς.

The first point to determine, before we can even begin to conjecture, is what is meant by the phrases, used as equivalents,

NO. LXXII. VOL. VIII.

οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα and ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν.

Is it meant that the nine ἄρχοντες were not appointed, or only that there was no appointment of the chief ἄρχων, called in the last sentence simply ὁ ἄρχων? The latter is certainly the natural meaning of the phrase οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα, and it is the more probable: for if there had been a complete failure to appoint archons there must have been some other government, and it is probable that we should here heard something about this other government. I shall therefore assume that the other eight ἄρχοντες were appointed, and carried on the necessary functions of government in the years of so-called ἀναρχία.

If this be so, it seems most probable that the chief ἄρχων was appointed somehow differently from the other eight. And this seems to me to be confirmed by an examination of the language of the passage, since Damasias is said to have been 'chosen' archon (αἰρεθείς)—although we were before told that the ἀρχαὶ were κληρωταὶ ἐκ προκρίτων.

And I think that the failure to appoint is more easily explained if we assume choice and not sortition. For a refusal to abide by the result of the lot would have been a violently revolutionary proceeding: and if such a blow had been given to the Solonian constitution only four years after Solon, and a second similar blow four years later, it seems to me that the new political order established by Solon could hardly have stood the shock:—the revolution would

B B

have gone further and Solon would not have held the place in traditional Athenian history which he always has held.

But if we once suppose that the chief ἄρχων was elected, not appointed by lot, it is easy to conjecture conditions of election which might bring about a failure to appoint, without any revolutionary breach of the constitution. The most obvious way in which such a failure to appoint might occur is if the concurrence of two or more bodies was required. It seems on other grounds a not improbable conjecture that this was the case, and that one of the bodies whose concurrence was required was the Areopagitic Council: since we are told in ch. 8 that in pre-Solonian times this Council had the appointment of annual magistrates entirely in its hands; and it seems therefore natural that in the Solonian constitution it should have been allowed to retain a share—but only a share—in the election of the chief magistrate. If this was the case, it is not difficult to understand why from time to time there was no election. For we may infer from the concluding portion of the narrative above quoted that the *στάσις* which is going on more or less throughout this period is an evenly balanced struggle between the *εὐπατρίδαι* and the rest of the citizens:—I say 'evenly balanced,' because the change from nine to ten ἄρχοντες is obviously made in order that an *equal* representation in the government may be given to the two contending parties—five Eupatrids and five non-Eupatrids. Now the *εὐπατρίδαι* may be assumed to have had before Solon—and to have retained for some time after—a decisive majority in the Areopagitic Council; while it is easy to suppose that, in spite of the numerous *clientèle* of the old families, the party of the *ἀγροικοὶ* and *δημιουργοὶ* combined may have had sometimes a majority in whatever more popular body had to concur in the election. This is just the state of things in which an obstinate struggle, both parties refusing to give way, might from time to time result in a failure to appoint any chief ἄρχων at all.

The conjecture that the other eight ἄρχοντες were appointed differently from the chief ἄρχων is further supported by considering the probability that there was a constitutional arrangement for distributing the ἄρχοντες equally among the tribes. I regard it as probable that this was the case; because we learn from ch. 55 of 'Aθ. Πολ.' that, in the later constitution, each of the ten tribes had a representative on the board of ἄρχοντες—the number ten being made up

by adding the secretary to the nine ἄρχοντες. Now it would be contrary to analogy to suppose that sectional political feeling was stronger in the ten tribes of the post-Kleisthenian period than it was in the four tribes of the older constitution: and therefore we may fairly infer from the equal representation of the ten tribes on the later board of ἄρχοντες, that the four tribes had similarly equal representation in the period with which we are now concerned: just as they had in the Council of 400. Now I need not point out that eight is divisible by four, whereas nine is not: it is therefore reasonable to suppose that of the eight ἄρχοντες two were drawn by lot from the ten nominated by each tribe.

But if the probable existence of a tribal sentiment sufficiently strong to demand and obtain equal representations for each tribe in the chief executive organ be granted, we are naturally led to carry our conjecture a step further, and devise some plan for distributing the chief ἄρχων also. Otherwise the existence of a chief archon—who must be a member of one tribe or another—seems to impair the tribal equality, attained by distributing the other eight in pairs. My plan for meeting this difficulty furnishes at the same time a conjectural explanation of a feature in the narrative which I have hitherto left unnoticed,—viz. the regularity with which irregularity occurs in the appointment of ἄρχοντες. After Solon, we are told, 'they keep quiet for four years'; then they have a year with no archon: then after the same period of quiet regular employment to office, ἀναρχία from the same cause occurs again; then after the same interval—διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων—the irregular extension of Damasias' tenure of office occurs. Before we attempt to explain this, it is necessary to determine the length of the recurrent period. The writer seems to say that ἀναρχία occurs in the fifth year after four years of order. But the commentators seem to be agreed that we cannot put the date of the ἀρχὴ of Damasias later than 582: so that if we take the commonly accepted year of Solon's government—594—there is obviously no room for twelve years of order and two of ἀναρχία between Solon and Damasias. Moreover it is quite in accordance with Greek habits of numeration to describe a quadrennial period as quinquennial; e.g. Pindar repeatedly refers to the Olympian games as πενταετηρίς ἑορτή. I therefore agree with Mr. Kenyon in interpreting the 'fifth year' to mean the fifth from Solon's year inclusive, so that the recurrence of irregu-

larity will be quadrennial. I am confirmed in this view by the fact that I can conceive no explanation of irregularity occurring periodically every *fifth* year; whereas its occurrence every fourth year may be conjecturally explained without much difficulty. For in the latter case we may fairly assume that the recurring period of four years was somehow connected with the four tribes; and if so, it seems an admissible conjecture that the demand of each tribe to have an equal representation on the executive was extended to the head of the government, and was satisfied in his case by choosing him from each tribe in rotation: and, accordingly that the recurring crisis of *ἀναρχία* was due to a peculiarly violent antagonism between *one* of the four tribes and some other body which had to share in the appointment—as I have already conjectured, the Areopagitic Council. This special antagonism does not seem to me *a priori* improbable. For though, as I have already said, we may infer from the compromise of the ten-archon year that the struggle between the Eupatrids and the non-Eupatrids was tolerably evenly balanced, there is no reason to suppose the two parties were evenly balanced in each tribe. On the contrary, as there is reason to regard the Attic tribes as partly localized, it would be *a priori* likely that both the oligarchically inclined landowners of the plain, and the democratically disposed peasants of the mountain, would be stronger in some one tribe than in the others. Let us suppose then that the Areopagitic Council was in each year constitutionally bound to choose the chief archon from the ten *πρόκριτοι* of a particular tribe; that it was determined to choose a Eupatrid; that, as three of the tribes nominated at any rate some Eupatrids among their ten *πρόκριτοι*, the Council found no difficulty in keeping the headship of the government for three years to the class of 'well-born'; but that when it came to the fourth year, the tribe nominated only non-Eupatrids, and the Council refused to make a selection. Both sides being obstinate, there was a deadlock: so—*ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν*.

This is, of course, only one way among several in which the deadlock may have been brought about. *E.g.* I may be wrong in supposing that the premier *ἄρχων* was chosen *ἐκ πρόκριτων*: it may be that he was selected by the Areopagitic Council from each tribe in rotation, the concurrence of the tribe being required, and that one obstinately democratic tribe refused to accept the nomination of the oligarchical council. All I am concerned to suggest is that the only probable explanation

of the quadrenniality of the disorder is to be found in the quadruplicity of the tribes: that each tribe in rotation had some defined share along with some other body, in the appointment of the chief archon who was chosen from it: and that one of the four tribes was specially antagonistic to the body with which it had to concur.

Let us now pass to consider the extension of the *ἀρχή* of Damasias. In accordance with the general view that I have taken of *ἀναρχία* and its causes we shall not regard this irregularity as at first a mere usurpation—a simple though brief Tyrannis—but rather as originally another method of getting over the deadlock which had twice led to *ἀναρχία*. I conjecture that Damasias was a Eupatrid, and that when some such deadlock as I have suggested occurred for the third time—in 582-1—he continued in his office with the approval, or at least acquiescence, of the Areopagitic Council. I conjecture, however, that it was *not* with their approval that his government went on into a third year: Damasias, I conjecture, having committed one irregularity for his party, thought that he could avail himself of the precedent to commit a second for himself. He was, in fact, working towards Tyrannis; and probably he had the support of partisans, so that the Eupatrids became alarmed and combined with their plebeian opponents to get rid of him. In order to effect this combination, the patricians, I conjecture, had to grant the plebeians an equal share in the executive government, and therefore to increase the number of *ἄρχοντες* from nine to ten, so that exact equality might be realized.

I have reached the last stage of my conjectural history: for with the year after Damasias the data come to an end. We must suppose that this is the only year with ten *ἄρχοντες*—if there had been another, the chronicler would have known of it, and we should have heard of it. We must suppose they went back to the old executive of nine: yet the periodic *ἀναρχία* seems to cease, and we hear no more of the conflict between Eupatrids and non-Eupatrids. Why is this short year—only ten months, I suppose—such a critical time? I must try to guess the answer to this question before concluding.

First, I must say a word on the constitutional import of this 'decemvirate.' There seems to me no reason to hold with Dr. Sandys that it was a 'reactionary measure, implying an abandonment of the classification by assessment.' I see no ground for

assuming that these were not *ἄγρικοι* and *δημουργοί* wealthy enough to be eligible for the chief magistracy, according to Solonian conditions: accordingly I regard the equal division of offices as simply an arrangement between two parties within the constitution, not a violation of it. On the other hand I see no reason to regard the classes of *ἄγρικοι* or *γεωμήτορες* and *δημουργοί* as species of nobility (*Adel*)—as Busolt and Wilamowitz hold: for all our information as to the meaning of the threefold division into *εὐπατρίδαι*, *γεωμήτορες*, and *δημουργοί* points to its being an exhaustive division of Athenian citizens;—all inhabitants of Attica who were not slaves, freedmen or aliens, must be regarded as belonging to one or other of these classes. Accordingly I imagine the social conflict of Solon's time to be like that at Rome in the fourth century—a struggle of poor plebeians against the economic oppression of wealthy patricians, combined and complicated with a struggle of wealthy plebeians to share the honour of the wealthy patricians. But I conjecture that the latter struggle is in Athens much briefer. I do not mean that the power and prestige of the old families is broken—had that been so, the reforms of Cleisthenes at the end of the century would hardly have been needed—but I conjecture that the compromise of the decemvirate is a sign that they are learning to moderate their exclusiveness. I guess that the 'party of the plain,' of which we hear afterwards, included wealthy plebeians though its nucleus was patrician; and that that is why we hear no more of the old three-fold division

into classes, which seem in pre-Solonian times to have had almost the fixity of castes. This, of course, will serve as a part of the explanation why the periodical 'anarchy' ceases. But another reason for this may be suggested. It seems to me very likely that the *κλήρωσις ἐκ προκρίτων* was abandoned for the decemvirate and not afterwards renewed: probably simple election by the assembly was substituted. We are told (ch. 22) that 'all the *ἄρχοντες* were *αἰετοί*' for twenty-four years after the expulsion of the tyrants: and this makes it probable that the change from *lot* to *choice* was not introduced by the tyrants: otherwise appointment by *choice* could hardly have lasted through the reforms of Cleisthenes. Thucydides tells us (vi. 54) that the Pisistratids did not interfere with the working of the previously established constitution, except that they always contrived to have one of their numbers in office: such contrivance would be easy under a system of election, but difficult in the case of appointment by lot. Again, on my view, the decemvirate offered a plausible excuse for changing from sortition to election, since it would have been a complicated matter to arrange sortition so as to bring about the division of *ἄρχοντες* among the three *classes* while at the same time respecting the claim of the four *tribes* to equal representation. And having once got sortition abandoned, it would be the interest of the Eupatrids to prevent a recurrence to it; and the coalescence with wealthy plebeians, which I assume to have taken place, would enable them to prevent it.

H. SIDGWICK.

SUR LES ACTES DE XANTHIPPE ET POLYXÈNE.

M. JAMES, en publiant pour la première fois les Actes de Xanthippe et Polyxène,¹ les a fait précéder d'une Introduction excellente, à laquelle je saurais à peine que reprendre ni qu'ajouter. Il a fort bien démontré, en particulier, le manque d'originalité de cette composition, dont presque tous les éléments se retrouvent soit dans les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres, soit dans les romans grecs. C'est là en effet le principal intérêt qu'elle présente. Elle peut servir d'exemple, dans l'antiquité, du genre

¹ *Texts and Studies*, edited by J. Armitage Robinson, ii. 3. Cambridge, 1893. p. 58.

hybride qui fleurit aujourd'hui sous le nom de roman religieux.

On peut discuter, naturellement, sur le détail de l'imitation. Ainsi, les apôtres sont représentés comme médecins ailleurs que dans les Actes de Pierre; voyez *Acta Philippi*, ed. Batiffol, p. 14 et 15; *Acta Thomae*, ed. Bonnet, p. 59, 33. Avec la lumière qui rayonne sur la face de Philippe, *Acta Ph.*, p. 25, 1, on comparera mieux *Acta X. et P.*, p. 68, 38 *εἶδεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λάμπον ὡς τὸ φῶς*, que les empreintes simplement dorées (*χρυσᾶς*) qui se voient sur le front de l'apôtre Paul, p. 63, 1; etc.

Où pourrait aussi relever quelques traits de plus empruntés aux Actes apocryphes. Ainsi par exemple, p. 84, 8, un certain Onésime se dévoile comme étant l'auteur du récit. Il y a de même dans les Actes de Jean un témoin des événements qui parle à la première personne. *Acta Ioannis*, ed. Zahn, p. 225 et 252. De même encore dans une Passion de saint André inédite, qui sera publiée dans le second fascicule de la nouvelle édition des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres, et *Acta Philippi*, p. 11, 11 et 26, 6, où le manuscrit porte *ἐπειραμεν*. Comparez aussi *Acta X. et P.*, p. 79, 25, et *Acta Thomae*, p. 29, 32 ou *Acta Philippi*, p. 46, 2; p. 76, 37, et *Acta Philippi*, p. 22, 15; p. 66, 11 et *Acta Thomae*, p. 67, 12 ou 78, 34; p. 65, 11, et *Acta Thomae*, p. 66, 25; etc.

Mais ce qu'il y a de plus caractéristique, ce sont les apparitions de Jésus et les enseignements de l'auteur sur les relations conjugales. Jésus apparaît sous la forme d'un bel adolescent, *νεανίας εὐμορφος* ou *εὐαδής*, *Acta X. et P.*, p. 66, 30; 68, 20; 74, 8, comme *Acta Thomae*, p. 20, 26; 80, 17; *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, 33 p. 165; *Acta Matthei*, 1 p. 167; Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus N.T.*, i. p. 549; 552; enfin dans un fragment inédit du plus haut intérêt, découvert par M. James, et dont il a bien voulu très gracieusement me permettre de prendre connaissance.² P. 68, 26, Jésus prend la figure d'un apôtre, comme *Acta Thomae*, p. 11, 1; 79, 5, et dans un fragment inédit des Actes d'André, qui sera joint aussi à la nouvelle édition des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres.

Les relations entre Probus et Xanthippe sont manifestement copiées, avec les modifications que comportait la situation, sur celles de Charisius et de Mygdonia dans les Actes de Thomas; comparez *Acta X. et P.*, p. 60, 4, et *Acta Th.*, p. 57, 19; 61, 19, et 58, 27; 61, 22, et 62, 15; 66, 17, et 61, 15; etc. Aussi, il me paraît inutile de chercher avec M. Bennett³ à identifier les héros de notre roman avec des personnages réels. Ce n'est pas un roman historique que nous devons voir dans ces Actes, ce serait plutôt un roman didactique. Il nous montre

² Il s'agit d'un morceau des Actes de Jean, recueilli par M. A. Robinson, d'après une indication de M. James, et qui faisait partie des Actes primitifs non remaniés, puisqu'il renferme les fragments i. et ii. de l'édition Zahn, p. 219 et 221, les relie entre eux et les complète. Espérons que ce document si intéressant ne tardera pas à venir continuer la belle série des *Texts and Studies*. Un autre morceau très semblable, qui renferme le fragment iii. de Zahn, p. 223, paraîtra dans les *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*.

³ *Classical Review*, viii. p. 103.

la rupture des relations conjugales imposée par la foi nouvelle, et les incidents qui s'en suivent. Car, chose curieuse, l'auteur, tout orthodoxe qu'il paraît être d'ailleurs, s'est tellement nourri de la lecture des Actes apocryphes, qu'après avoir reproduit, p. 72, 14, la doctrine biblique sur la légitimité relative du mariage, il tombe en plein dans l'hérésie dont ces Actes sont tout pénétrés: *Καὶ κρείττον ἡμῖν ἐστίν*, s'écrie une jeune fille chrétienne, *μετὰ θηρίων οἰκεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰδωλολατρῶν εἰς βόρβορον γάμου ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐμπεσεῖν* (p. 80, 9). Comp. aussi p. 83, 6, *νημφίος φθοράς*.

Certains détails peuvent servir à déterminer approximativement le temps et le lieu où nos Actes furent composés. Déjà, après M. James, M. Bennett en a signalé quelques-uns.⁴ On peut ajouter que l'auteur a lu les Actes apocryphes complets, et non pas seulement les chapitres détachés qui depuis le IX^e siècle, et peut-être plus anciennement, continuèrent presque seuls à se propager, c'est à dire, le commencement des Actes de Thomas, la fin de ceux de Philippe, l'assomption de Jean, etc. Puis, p. 74, 33, Xanthippe (étant en Espagne?) fait venir de Rome une Bible, ou peut-être seulement quelques livres de la Bible (*βίβλους*), parmi lesquels un psautier, et elle en tire des sorts (*ps.* 141 [142], 5; et plus loin, p. 77, 24, *ps.* 37 [38], 7). Ces livres se payent sept cents pièces d'or. Voir encore p. 73, 5 *τὸ τῆς ζωαρχικῆς τριῆδος ὄνομα*; p. 82, 29 *προσάγω σοι τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἁγίου κήρυκός σου Παύλου*. Enfin, comme on va le voir, certaines fautes du texte s'expliquent par l'emploi de lettres capitales; preuve d'une assez haute antiquité. Car pour le reste, je partage l'avis de M. Bennett: les Actes de Xanthippe et Polyxène me paraissent être moins anciens que ne les estime M. James (milieu du III^e siècle). Je serais porté à croire qu'ils le sont beaucoup moins.

Quant au texte, M. James a dû le donner d'après un seul manuscrit, ce qui, comme M. Usener le remarquait récemment⁵, à propos de la Vie de saint Théodose publiée par lui, ne peut être considéré jamais que comme un pis-aller. Mais ce manuscrit, le *Paris. gr.* 1458, du XI^e siècle, est le seul qui existe, à ce qu'il paraît, et heureusement du moins il n'est pas trop mauvais. En somme, le texte de nos Actes est lisible. Non pas pourtant qu'il n'ait fallu, pour le rendre tel, certaines retouches du savant éditeur; peut-être aussi quelques-unes des corrections

⁴ *Classical Review*, viii. p. 102.

⁵ *Literar. Centralblatt*, 1894, p. 403.

que nous allons proposer ne paraîtront-elles pas inutiles.

En fait d'accentuation, M. James a-t-il cru devoir conserver des particularités du manuscrit dans ἀμετρητός, θησαῦρε, λογχῇ, ἀναστήθι, et plusieurs autres mots? Même quand le sens en souffre, comme p. 79, 19 τί ἄρα pour τί ἄρα; p. 79, 11 ἀνακαλέσαι pour ἀνακάλεσαι; p. 84, 25 πλοῦς pour πλοῦς (génitif); plusieurs fois βασιλεια pour βασιλεία; p. 67, 22 ἐκχείεις pour ἐκχέεις⁶; p. 73, 14 εἶθ' οὕτως pour εἶθ' οὕτως⁷? Il y aurait là, si je ne me trompe, un scrupule excessif. Il y en a un également, semble-t-il, à respecter les confusions de lettres équivalentes (αι = ε, ει = η = ι, ο = ω), et à écrire p. 66, 29 ιστήκει; p. 58, 24 περιδεύθησαν; p. 63, 36 ὁμοιοῦσάτε, à côté de p. 70, 8 παρειστήκεισαν; p. 75, 1 ὠδεον; p. 77, 4 παρώργισα; etc. Ἀρχιαιτρός est si bien attesté par des manuscrits et des inscriptions, c'est un mot si commun, qui a passé même en latin, qu'on a de la peine à admettre p. 58, 18 ἀρχίατροῦ. P. 81, 21 προηλθοῦσαι n'est sans doute qu'une faute d'impression.

Souvent la ponctuation des textes anciens faite d'après la coutume d'un pays déconcerte les lecteurs d'une autre contrée. Qui ne s'est achoppé, en France et en Angleterre, aux virgules que tant de savants allemands ne manquent pas de mettre, en latin et en grec, devant le pronom relatif? Heureux le jour annoncé par M. L. Havet⁸ où les ponctuations modernes, allemande, anglaise, française, pourront, et par suite devront, faire place à la ponctuation latine en latin, grecque en grec! En attendant, ne pourrait-on pas réformer la ponctuation des textes anciens là où elle est le plus clairement contraire au génie des langues anciennes, comme par exemple quand nous mettons le vocatif entre virgules? Voyez les notes de M. Weil sur Euripide, *I. A.* 613; 1062; *I. T.* 336. M. Jeep a eu le courage de supprimer la plupart de ces virgules dans son Claudien. M. Birt aurait bien fait de le suivre (comme, en général, de reconnaître plus franchement le mérite de son devancier). M. James aussi écrit p. 77,

Non contracte, comme συγγενέα p. 76, 4; le futur n'a pas de raison d'être.

⁶ Cette locution, expliquée par M. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, p. 126, n'est pas rare; voir, outre les exemples cités dans le *Thesaurus*, Aristote, *Πολ.* ¹ A⁹, 24 et 40; *Acta Thomae*, p. 46, 8; Cyrille de Scythopolis, *vita Sabae*, 22 p. 249 B; Palladius (Migne xxxiv.) *Historia Lausiaca*, 42 p. 1147 C; 103 p. 1210 B; Syméon le Métaphraste, *vita Ignatii*, Migne, exiv. p. 1277 A; de *Thecla*, cxv. p. 841 B; etc.

⁸ *Prose métrique de Symmaque*, p. 21 suiv.; comp. p. 12.

34 συμπάθησόν μοι τὸ θηρίον καὶ μὴ με σκορπίσῃς. On devrait en conséquence supprimer la virgule p. 85, 6 καλῶς ἐηλύθατε, οἱ τεθλιμμένοι, et ailleurs. Il y a d'autres virgules qui sont peut-être conformes aux habitudes anglaises, mais qui nous gênent, comme p. 63, 15 πολλοὺς ἐμακάρισα ἕως τοῦ νῦν, τοὺς ὑμῶν συντυγχάνοντας; p. 63, 19 ὁ τῷ δρόμῳ τὴν ξηρὰν ἀλιεύων, καὶ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἰχθύας συνάγων; même cas p. 75, 18; etc. L'interprétation est en jeu p. 67, 21 ὅσον γὰρ σε εἰς παροργίσῃ ἀνθρώπους πολυπλασίως, τὰ ἐλέη σου ἐκχείεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν δέσποτα, où je mettrais la virgule avant πολυπλασίως; et peut-être p. 71, 4, où je mettrais un point après σταυρόν. P. 76, 9 ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι ἡ παρθένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ce dernier mot semble indiquer que le discours est direct, et qu'on écrirait mieux ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.

Les Actes de Xanthippe et Polyxène comme la plupart des textes de même sorte, présentent de fréquents exemples de confusion des cas, accusatif et datif, parfois même génitif. Il est fort difficile de dire dans quelle mesure ces fautes sont imputables à l'auteur. M. James s'est trouvé évidemment embarrassé. P. 59, 33 ὁ καμὲ τὴν ἀναξίαν καὶ ταπεινὴν δέξας τὸν σπόρον τὸν αἰ ζῶντα, il change les quatre premiers accusatifs en autant de datifs, καμοί, etc. P. 62, 13 ἐγγίσας τὰ πρόθνηρα (comp. p. 78, 14 ὡς ἤγγισεν τῇ Πολυξένῃ; 22 μὴ ἐγγίσῃς μοι) il ajoute <εἰς>. P. 70, 25 πιστεύουσαι εἰς τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι τοῖς ἀνδράς, il change εἰς en ἐν. Mais il laisse subsister p. 59, 25 ἐπικαλέσομαι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ (malgré p. 77, 3 τίνα οὖν ἐπικαλέσομαι); p. 60, 13 ἄνεις μοι...καθευδῆσαι; p. 71, 13 τὰ λεχθέντα παρ' ἐμοί; p. 77, 1 οἱμοὶ τὴν ποτε...μανικὴν (malgré p. 76, 36 οἱμοὶ τῇ ἐγκαταλελειμμένῃ; etc.); p. 78, 34 σφραγίζει διὰ λουτρὸν παλιγενεσίας; p. 80, 12 συναντῶσι κτηνίτην (p. 75, 12 συναντήσῃ σοι πλοῖον; comp. p. 75, 24; 81, 7); p. 81, 30 πρὸ τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρα; p. 82, 29 δεηθῆναι σοι (p. 60, 2 δέομαί σου; p. 85, 19 δεομένη τοῦ θεοῦ); p. 85, 13 ἀπήγγειλε τὴν Ξανθίππην τὴν παρονσίαν τῇς Πολυξένης. S'il est permis de corriger, c'est διὰ λουτρὸν et πρὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ dont je tiendrais le plus à me débarrasser; puis παρ' ἐμοί. Mais peut-être faut-il savoir supporter même cela.

En effet, quand la langue classique est pour un auteur, au point où elle paraît l'être ici, une langue apprise par l'étude, on est toujours à se demander dans quelle mesure on doit le rendre responsable des incorrections qu'on rencontre dans ses écrits. P. 64, 21 τινὲς γὰρ...ὄντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐωράκασιν τὰ...τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα καὶ παρεγένοντο, le parfait

est-il pour l'aoriste, comme cela arrive si souvent (p. 84, 24 γέγονε, etc.), ou faut-il écrire ἐωράκεισαν? Inversement, p. 79, 21 κατελήφει με ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἱσταμένης, ce plusqueparfait peut-il tenir lieu du parfait, qu'on a p. 80, 30, καὶ σὲ κατέληφεν ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ θεοῦ? P. 64, 34 αἰσθανεῖς doit-il subsister à côté de ἤσθοντο (p. 67, 16) et αἰσθόμενοι (p. 75, 22), ou doit-on mettre au moins αἰσθανθεῖς? P. 65, 24 τότε ὁ Πρόβος προσκαλεῖται τὴν Ξανθίππην ἐν τῷ δείπῳ· τῆς δὲ μὴ προσθέσις λέγει ὁ Πρόβος: ce participe actif est-il admissible, à la place de προσθεμένης,⁹ ou lirons-nous πεισθείσης?

Dans la syntaxe du verbe, une des confusions les plus ordinaires en bas grec est celle du futur indicatif et de l'aoriste subjonctif.¹⁰ Cependant quand les deux temps ne diffèrent que par des lettres équivalentes, ο = ω, η = ε, ne devrait-on pas corriger, comme le demande, trop absolument peut-être, Cobet, *N. T. gr.*, p. lxii? P. 60, 17 ποίους τρόπους χρήσομαι ἢ ποῖαν ἔννοιαν ἀναλάβω, ἐρίωνος χρήσωμαι, puisque c'était indifférent à l'oreille du copiste. Au contraire, p. 75, 23 ἂν γὰρ συναντήσωμεν αὐτῷ, οὐ κὰν κινήσωμεν, κινήσωμεν serait mieux, si οὐκ ἂν κινήσωμεν paraît trop hardi.¹¹ Mais p. 76, 17 ἴσως κὰν ἐν τούτῳ πληροφορηθῇ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, le subjonctif doit être sans doute respecté; de même p. 62, 32 ἴσως γένη; p. 78, 9 ἴσως μνησθῇ, malgré p. 66, 12 ἴσως πισωθήσεται.

Voici maintenant quelques corrections plus importantes pour le sens, et que je proposerais cependant avec moins d'hésitation.

P. 61, 22 ὃς ἐρωτώμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λύπης... ἔλεγε... εἰς πολλὰς καὶ ἀνποστάτους αἰτίας ἐμπεπωκέναι. Je soupçonne que αἰτία(ν) est revenu sous la plume du copiste au lieu de αἰκίας.

P. 69, 30 τοὺς σοφοὺς Βάρανδον καὶ Γνωστέα. Ce dernier s'appelle Γνωστέας (p. 70, 3 et 71, 35; datif Γνωστέα p. 70, 2). N'est-il pas bien probable qu'un trait sur l'a a pâli, ou a été oublié, et qu'il faut lire Γνωστέαν?

P. 71, 36 εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν... τοῦ καταγεῖναι καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν σὸν ἀριθμόν. Ecrivez καταμῆγναι; comp. *Acta Thomae*, p. 81, 13 τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐγκαταμῆγων (ἐγκαταμίσγων) τῷ σῷ.

P. 73, 24 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρπιάσασα κογχοστάτην

⁹ Théophraste, de sens. 2 τούτῳ προσέθεσαν τὴν γνώμην, est différent.

¹⁰ Voyez Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, p. 723; G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, p. 218; *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxxiii. (1893) p. 110; etc.

¹¹ D'ailleurs l'auteur affectionne la particule κὰν. Il s'en sert 8 fois en 27 pages.

σιδηροῦν, ῥίπτει εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ ὅλην τὴν ὄψιν. τότε ὁ δαίμων ἀνεβόησε λέγων· Ὁ βία! ἀπὸ τούτου χανότου καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τύπτειν ἡμᾶς. Que veut dire ἀπὸ τούτου χανότου? Si vous ne réussissez pas à l'expliquer, au lieu de ΩΒΙΑΑΠΟΤΟΥΤΟΥΧΑΝΟΤΟΥΚΑΙ, lisez ΩΒΙΑΑΠΟΤΟΥΚΟΓΧΟΣΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙ, c'est à dire Ὁ βία ἀπὸ τοῦ κογχοστάτου· καὶ, et voyez sur ὁ βία ἀπὸ, H. Usener, *Legenden der Pelagia*, p. 44. Le κογχοστάτης de fer que Xanthippe lance à la tête d'un démon (comme Luther son encier) paraît être le pied sur lequel on pose le vase appelé κόγχη ou κόγχος, comme le στυλοβάτης est le pied sur lequel se tient la colonne.

P. 73, 28 ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ἐδείμασεν σφόδρα. De δειμαῖν, il n'est pas précisément incroyable qu'on ait fait l'aoriste ἐδείμασα. Il est plus probable cependant que ΕΔΕΙΜΑCΕΝ doit se lire ΕΔΕΙΛΙΑCΕΝ, ἐδείλιασεν; comp. p. 60, 20 δειλιῶ, et 83, 4 ἐδείλιασεν.

P. 75, 1 ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὥδενον οἱ καθέλκοντες ἐν τάχει καὶ δὲ φθασάντων αὐτῶν τὸν αἰγυλὸν μισθωσάμενοι πλοῖον ὥρμον ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν. L'imparfait ὥρμον pour ὥρμων n'a rien d'extraordinaire; on lit de même ailleurs ἡγάπουν, ἡρώτου, etc.¹² Mais pour le second δὲ il faut peut-être δὴ; et φθάω étant employé absolument p. 75, 32, et construit p. 65, 31 avec ἔως; p. 72, 7 avec ἐγγύς; p. 84, 13 avec ἐν; p. 77, 27 avec εἰς; p. 67, 3 avec ἐπὶ; nulle part avec l'accusatif, il semble qu'on doive ajouter ici ἐπὶ; comp. p. 83, 24 κάτελθε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγυλόν.

P. 83, 7 ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτον τὸν θεόν... ἀνὴρ γὰρ τις... ἐκήρυττε τοῦτον θεόν. Il est probable que τὸν est tombé après le second τοῦτον.

P. 83, 23 δεῦρο οὖν κόρη βαλοῦσά μου τὸ σχῆμα κάτελθε. Est-ce que βαλεῖν, sans un complément avec préposition, peut signifier mettre, en parlant de vêtements? Je n'en pourrais citer qu'un autre exemple, *Acta Philippi*, p. 22, 13 ἐκδόναι ταῦτα τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ διάχρυσα καὶ βάλε τὰ κοσμοῦντά σε εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν.¹³ Mais je me demande s'il ne faut pas corriger dans ce dernier cas λάβε et dans l'autre λαβοῦσά μου.

P. 83, 33 ἐδωκαν... δόξαν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ θεῷ, λέγοντες· Ὁντως εἰ, καὶ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς ὁ διὰ Πολυξένης ὀνομαζόμενος. Lisez Ὁντως εἰ καὶ μόνος θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

¹² Voyez Hatzidakis, *Einleitung*, p. 129; H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis*, p. 198; etc.

¹³ Il en existe à la vérité un troisième, dans une Passion d'André déjà mentionnée: ἐτέρας βαλλόντας (lire βαλόντες) ἐσθῆτας. Mais au même endroit un récit parallèle, également inédit, porte ces mots: λαβόντες ἐσθῆτας ἐτέρας.

Il me reste sur d'autres passages des doutes que je dois laisser à de plus habiles à dissiper, en expliquant, s'il se peut, le texte tel qu'il est, ou en le corrigeant, s'il le faut. J'ajouterai seulement que certaines corrections de M. James ne me paraissent pas suffisamment motivées, comme p. 62, 24 καταγγελεῖ pour καὶ ἀγγελεῖ; p. 65, 33 διορθώσης pour διορθώσῃ (moyen); etc.; et je terminerai par une remarque d'une portée plus générale.

Les savants les plus compétents sont d'accord sur l'extrême difficulté que présente l'établissement de ces textes rédigés à la basse époque par des auteurs imparfaitement lettrés, qui écrivent en une langue artificiellement conservée ou rappelée à la vie.¹⁴ Il est presque impossible souvent de faire le départ entre les fautes qu'ont pu commettre les auteurs et celles qu'il faut attribuer aux copistes. On en a vu assez de preuves dans les pages qui précèdent. En cet état de choses, le meilleur parti à prendre ne serait-il pas de tenir strictement séparées la recension et l'émendation? J'entends par recension—une définition précise n'est pas superflue, en présence des confusions qu'on voit faire tous les jours—le travail qui consiste à tirer de la tradition tout le parti qu'on en peut tirer. J'appelle émendation toute correction apportée par conjecture au texte constitué par la recension. Si donc le principe que je viens d'énoncer était adopté, le texte mis en pleine page serait exactement tel qu'il ressort de l'ensemble des témoignages, écoutés selon leur valeur relative, sans une lettre ajoutée ou retranchée par conjecture. Tout essai de restitution, toute correction, si évidente qu'elle puisse paraître, serait reléguée dans les notes, dont on pourrait faire d'ailleurs deux séries: l'une donnant les variantes des manuscrits, avec la tradition indirecte, s'il y a lieu; l'autre, tout ce qui concerne l'émendation.

Les avantages d'une telle disposition me paraissent évidents.

D'une part, elle obligera le lecteur, précisément dans les cas douteux, à contrôler l'œuvre de l'éditeur, et à exercer son propre jugement. Car en présence d'une forme insolite ou d'une phrase inintelligible, il ne manquera pas d'abaisser les yeux sur les notes, pour y chercher secours ou confirmation; tandis que dans nos textes tout replâtrés et badigeonnés, son attention

n'étant sollicitée par aucune aspérité, il aura bien des chances de passer outre, en prenant une conjecture incertaine ou fausse pour la vraie ou pour la seule leçon. Il en résulte—qui ne l'a constaté maintes fois?—que les inventions des éditeurs, soigneusement recueillies, passent dans nos dictionnaires et nos grammaires, parfois même servent d'appui à des affirmations historiques ou autres, et qu'au contraire des leçons vraiment instructives, et parfois excellentes, mais méconnues par les éditeurs, restent cachées dans le fouillis des notes.

D'autre part, l'éditeur scrupuleux ne se trouvera pas dans la fâcheuse nécessité de décider entre deux probabilités qui peuvent être absolument égales: est-ce l'auteur qui a commis la faute, est-ce un copiste qui l'a introduite dans le texte? Il jouira au contraire de la plus large faculté de proposer, suivant les cas, des corrections de vraisemblance diverse, et graduée à volonté par des points d'interrogation ou des adverbess dubitatifs.

Peu importe, d'ailleurs, qu'un texte nous soit transmis pas un seul manuscrit ou par plusieurs. Dans le premier cas, c'est le manuscrit unique, dans le second, c'est l'archétype des manuscrits existants dont nous reproduirons les leçons avec une fidélité absolue, quitte à indiquer au bas de la page les corrections nécessaires, ou simplement probables, ou même seulement possibles.

Est-il besoin d'ajouter qu'il ne s'agit nullement de pousser cette fidélité à la tradition jusqu'à faire de notre texte une sorte de facsimilé, ni ce qu'on a coutume d'appeler une édition diplomatique? Nous y marquerons, selon notre propre jugement, la séparation des mots, la ponctuation, les accents et les esprits; nous corrigerons sans hésiter les fautes qui ne consistent qu'en confusion de lettres équivalentes ($\alpha = \epsilon$, $\epsilon = \eta = \iota$, $\omicron = \omega$; et dans les manuscrits récents, $\alpha = \nu$, enfin même $\nu = \iota$). En d'autres termes, nous donnerons le texte tel que, à l'époque où la tradition nous permet de remonter, il se présentait, non à l'œil, mais à l'oreille du lecteur, ou mieux encore, à son esprit. En le faisant, nous ne prendrons guère plus de liberté que ne s'en attribue quiconque, par exemple, transcrit un texte hébreu en y ajoutant les points-voyelles. Ou, plus exactement, nous agirons comme le font aujourd'hui, pour les statues antiques, les conservateurs les plus intelligents: ils en recueillent les fragments, les nettoient et les rassemblent, mais ils n'ajoutent ni pied ni bout d'oreille au

¹⁴ Voyez G. N. Hatzidakis, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I. p. 98; K. Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des h. Theodosios*, p. 264; H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis*, p. xli; etc. On me permettra de rappeler aussi mes propres remarques, *Acta Thomae*, p. xii.

marbre : les essais de restauration se font sur un moulage en plâtre qu'on place à côté de l'original. C'est l'office de ce moulage que remplira notre seconde série de notes.

Mais aux statues mêmes on ôte les fausses têtes appliquées dans l'antiquité : n'enlèverons-nous pas de nos textes les mots, les phrases, les chapitres inauthentiques qui peuvent se trouver déjà dans l'archétype de nos manuscrits ? Les interpolations anciennes sont souvent aussi trompeuses et plus que les conjectures modernes : y a-t-il moins de danger à les laisser pénétrer dans nos dictionnaires et nos grammaires ? Il y aurait lieu de répondre à ces objections et à d'autres qui m'ont été faites ou que je prévois, si l'on devait traiter de la même

façon tous les ouvrages anciens. Mais il ne s'agit pour le moment que des écrits qui présentent les difficultés spéciales signalées plus haut, et pour lesquels il est particulièrement aisé de voir que ces objections renferment une pétition de principe. En tout cas d'ailleurs, qu'on ne croie pas les droits de la critique menacés. La critique, on l'a vu, ne serait que plus libre de ses mouvements. Ce n'est même pas, à proprement parler, une question de méthode que je pose ; c'est une question de pratique, de procédé, je dirai presque de disposition typographique. Ce n'en est pas moins une question qui a son importance.

MAX BONNET.

THE ATHOS MS. OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

ATTENTION was first drawn to the Athos MS. of the Homeric Hymns by Prof. J. P. Mahaffy in the *Athenaeum* for May 18, 1889. The present collation of the MS. is the work of Prof. Michael Constantinides, now of Athens, but for many years a resident among us, and the author of the very valuable volume, entitled *Neohellenica*, which appeared in London in 1892. The facsimile specimens, to which reference is made in the article, I shall be happy to show to any scholar interested in these matters.

INGRAM BYWATER.

Σύντομος περιγραφή
τοῦ ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένου πολυβίβλου χειρογράφου, ἐν ᾧ εὐρηγται καὶ οἱ Ὀμητικοὶ Ὕμνοι.

Τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτό ἐστι δεδεμένον νεωστὶ καὶ φέρει ἐξωθεν ἀριθμὸν αὐξοντα 587· ἔχει δὲ μῆκος μὲν ο, 27, πλάτος δὲ ο, 20, καὶ πᾶχος ο, 05. Τὸ κάλυμμα αὐτοῦ ἡμιδερμάτινόν ἐστιν καὶ φέρει ὅπισθε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε :

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΩΣ (οὐχὶ ΟΥΞ)
ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ 4 (ἀντὶ τοῦ 3)
ΕΥΡΥΠΙΔΟΥ 3
ΟΜΗΡΟΥ 32 (ἀντὶ τοῦ 31)
ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ 4 (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀριθμ. 6)

Ἔστι δὲ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ χάρτου ἀρχαίου παρεμφεροῦς μεμβράνῃ. Ἐμπεριέχει φύλλα 247 (ἦτοι σελίδας 492). Ἔστι δὲ πλήρες καὶ ἐν ἀρίστῃ καταστάσει, καὶ ἡ γραφή τοῦ κειμένου ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους τῆς αὐτῆς χειρός. Ἐν

τῇ πρώτῃ σελίδι, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς, ἔχει κόσμημα ἐρυθρόχρουν καὶ κατόπιν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε

ΓΕΝΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΞΑΓΚΟΥ

Ἔπεται βιογραφία Σοφοκλέους—ἀκολουθῶς Ὑπόθεσις Αἴαντος. Ἐπεται τὸ δράμα πλήρες, μεθ' ἐρμηνειῶν καὶ σχολίων, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐγκλείστῳ μικρῷ πανομοιούτῳ δείγματι. Τὸ δράμα τοῦτο λήγει ἐν τῷ 32ῳ φύλλῳ τοῦ χειρογράφου, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεται ἡ Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἠλέκτρας, ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ δράμα ὅπερ λήγει ἐν τῷ 62ῳ φύλλῳ. Τὰ σχόλια τῆς Ἠλέκτρας ἐγράφη ὑπ' ἄλλης χειρός. Ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλου μέρους τοῦ αὐτοῦ φύλλου ἄρχεται ὁ Οἰδίπους Τύραννος ἀνευ ὑποθέσεως· οὐκ ἔχει δὲ σχόλια καὶ λήγει ἐν τῷ 92ῳ φύλλῳ οὕτως :

† Τέλος τοῦ Οἰδίποδος.

† Τέρμα τῆς βίβλου Σοφοκλέους ὁδε. Ὡστε ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ τούτῳ ὑπάρχουσι τρεῖς μόνον τραγωδίαί τοῦ Σοφοκλέους καὶ οὐχὶ τέσσαρες ὡς ἐσημειώθη ἐξωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιοδέτου.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ 93ου φύλλου ἄρχεται ἡ Γένος Εὐριπίδου, ἔπεται ὑπόθεσις Ἐκάβης καὶ κατόπιν τὸ δράμα τῆς Ἐκάβης λήγον ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ μέρει τοῦ 120ου φύλλου. Ἀκολουθεῖ Ὑπόθεσις Ὀρέστον, Ὀρέστης, καὶ λήγει ἐν τῷ φύλλῳ 155. Ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ αὐτοῦ φύλλου, ἄρχεται ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῶν Φοινισσῶν, ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ δράμα καὶ λήγει ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ μέρει τοῦ φύλλου 190. Τῶν τριῶν τούτων τραγωδιῶν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἡ Ἐκάβη μόνον ἔχει ἐρμηνείας καὶ σχόλια, ὡς ἐν τῷ μικρῷ ἐγκλείστῳ δείγματι, ὁ Ὀρέστης ὅμως καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰ μὴ ἐρμηνείας μόνον τινὰς σποράδην.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ 191ου φύλλον ἄρχονται οἱ Ὀμηρικοὶ ὕμνοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξῆς τάξιν :

(1) Ὀμήρου ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα (191 φύλλ. —199).

(2) ————— εἰς Ἑρμῆν (199—207).

(3) ————— εἰς Ἀφροδίτην (208—212).

(4) Ἐτέρος ὕμνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν (αἰδοίην χρυσοτέφανον κ.τ.λ.).

(5) Διόνυσος ἢ λησταί.

(6) Εἰς Ἀρτεμιν.

(7) Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

(8) Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.

(9) Εἰς Ἥραν.

(10) Εἰς Δήμητραν.

(11) Εἰς Μητέρα θεῶν.

(12) Εἰς Ἡρακλέα λεοντόθυμον.

(13) Εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν.

(14) Εἰς Διοσκούρους.

(15) Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

(16) Εἰς Πάνα.

(17) Εἰς Ἥφαιστον.

(18) Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

(19) Εἰς Ἥσσειδωνα.

(20) Εἰς ὕπατον Κρονίδην, ἡ Δία.

(21) Εἰς Ἑστίαν.

(22) Εἰς Μούσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα.

(23) Εἰς Διόνυσον.

(24) Εἰς Ἀρτεμιν.

(25) Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.

(26) Εἰς Ἑστίαν.

(27) Εἰς Γῆν μητέρα πάντων.

(28) Εἰς Ἥλιον.

(29) Εἰς Σελήνην (Ἡ).

(30) Εἰς Διοσκούρους.

(31) Εἰς Ξένους.

τέλος τῶν ὕμνων.

φύλλον 219ον—Ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς κόσμημα ἐρυθρόχρονον, ἔπειτα ἡ ἐξῆς ἐπιγραφή: 'Ἡροδό-
τον περὶ Ὀμήρου γενέσεως.'

ἔπεται τὸ κείμενον, ὅπερ λήγει ἐν φύλλῳ
224—Ἀπὸ τοῦ φύλλον 225 ἄρχονται οἱ ὕμνοι
τοῦ Καλλιμάχου, τοῦ Κυρηναίου ποιητοῦ :

Εἰς Δία,

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα,

Εἰς Ἀρτεμιν,

Εἰς Δῆλον,

Εἰς Λουτρά τῆς Παλλάδος,

Εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα.

Εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὕμνου εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα
ὑπάρχει κόσμημα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐξῆς τέσ-
σαρες στίχοι γεγραμμένοι διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
χειρός:—

‘Ὑμῶ τὸν ὑψίζυγον ἐν πρώτοις Δία,
Φοῖβον δ' ἔπειτα καὶ τρίτην τὴν Ἀρτεμιν
Δῆλόν τε τετάρτην' εἴτα λουτρά Παλλάδος
Ἐκτὴν δὲ τὴν Δήμητρα τὴν παλαιέραν.'
Ἐνταῦθα λήγει τὸ χειρόγραφον.

Ἀντιβολὴ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν ὕμνων τοῦ Βατο-
πεδινῶ χειρογράφου πρὸς τὸ κείμενον τῆς
ἐκδόσεως τοῦ Augusti Baumeister, Λειψία,
τύποις B.G. Teubnéron, 1888.

Ἐν πρώτοις σημειοῦμαι ὅτι ὁ Ὑμνος εἰς
Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν τῷ Βατοπεδινῷ χειρογράφῳ οὐ
διαίρεται εἰς δύο ὕμνους, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰς καὶ
συνίσταται ἐκ στίχων 538, ἔπειτα ὅτι οἱ
στίχοι 14—15—16—17—18 καὶ 20—21—22
—23—24 καὶ 96, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ Αἰγ.
Βασιμείστερ ἀπεχωρίσθησαν τοῦ κειμένου, ἐν τῷ
Βατοπεδινῷ χειρογράφῳ μένουσιν ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ
οἰκείᾳ αὐτοῦ θέσει.

φύλλον τοῦ χειρογράφου 191ον. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνω
ἄκρας τοῦ φύλλον ὑπάρχει ἡ ἐξῆς ἐπιγραφή:

† Ὑμνοὶ Ὀμήρου εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς.

ἔπειτα κόσμημα ἐρυθρόχρονον—ἀκολούθως ἦδε
ἡ ἐπιγραφή:

† Ὀμήρου ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

ἔπειτα τὸ κείμενον ἀνεῖ ἐρμηνειῶν ἢ σχολίων.
Ἡ πρώτη σελὶς ἔχει στίχους 31, αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι
14 σελίδες ἀνὰ 34 στίχους, ἡ δὲ τελευταία σελὶς
τοῦ ὕμνου εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα 31, ὥστε ἐν συνόλῳ
ἅπαντες οἱ στίχοι εἰσὶν 358, ἐνῶ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ
Α. Β. εἰσὶ 546. ἄρχομαι τῆς ἀντιβολῆς.

Στ. 3. καὶ ῥά γ'. Στ. 6. βίον. 12. καθίζουσι,
ἀνεῖ τοῦ εὐφωνικοῦ ν. 17. κύθειον—ἀγχοτάτῳ.
18. ἐπ' Ἰνόπειο. 19. πῶς γάρ σ'. 20. γάρ τε.
20. νόμος. 22. ἄδον. 25. ἥως σε. 30. Κρήτη
ἐντός. 31. Αἴγινα. ναυσικλείη. 32. τ' εἰρεσίαι
τε. 33. Ἄθως. 36. οὗτος ὁ στίχος λείπει καὶ
ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει ὁ 41 'καὶ Σάμος ὕδρηλῃ,
Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα.' Μετὰ τοῦτον
ἔπεται 'Ἰμβρος τ' ἔκτικμένη' κ.τ.λ. 41. ἐνταῦθα
ἀντὶ τοῦ στίχου 'καὶ Σάμοι' κ.τ.λ. ὑπάρχει
Μίλητος τε κ.τ.λ. 44. Ῥηναία. 45. ἐπωδίνουσα.
46. εἴ τις σοι. 54. οὐδ' εὐμηλον. 55. οἰσεῖς.
62. Μεγάλοιο κρόνοιον. 65. γ' ἐροίμην. 73.
ᾧσει. 75. εἰδῇ οἱ. 87. αἰέν. 90. γόνῳ. 93.
ἔσαν—Ῥέη. 104. χρυσεῖοισι λίνουσι ἐργ-
μένον ἐννεάπην. 116. τὴν τότε δῆ. 125.
ἀθανάτῃσι χερσίν. 129. δεσμάτ' ἔρκε. 132.
χρήσω τ'. 133. ἀπὸ χθονός. 136—137—138.
Οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι στίχοι οὐχ ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῷ
Βατοπεδινῷ χειρογράφῳ. 147. Ἰάγονες. 151. ἔμ-
μεναι ἀνήρ. 152. Οἱ τὸτ' ἐπαντία σείο τ' ἰάονος
ἀθρόοι εἶεν. 157. Δηλιάδες δ'. 163. μμείσθαι
165. Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ Λητῶ μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι
ξύν. 171. Ἀφ' ἡμέων. 172. Χίῳ ἐνί. 173.
τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν. 174. ἡμέτερον. 184 (6).
ἔχων τε θυῶδ'. 197 (19). οὔτε λάχεια. 209 (31).
ὀππὸς' ἀνωμόμενος ἔκτες Ἀζαντίδα κούρην. 211
(31). λείπει ὁ στίχος οὗτος ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ
213 (35).....; οὐ μὲν Τρίστος γ' ἐνέλιπεν.
216 (38). Πιερίης. 217 (39). Λέκτον τ' ἡμα-
θόεντα παρέστιχες ἡ Μαγνητίας. 218 (40).
Ἰωλκόν. 231 (53) ἀναπνέει. 233 (55). οὐδὲ
τέως μὲν. 235 (57). ἀγῃσιν. 247 (69). Δελ-
φοῦς. 256 (78). Δελφοῖσα. 459 (81). οἱ δέ

τοὶ αἰεὶ. 272 (94). ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προσάγοιεν. 276 (98). Δελφούσῃ. 277 (99). προτέρῳ. 281 (103). πρὸς δεῖράδα θύων. 283 (105). κνήμων. 284 (106). ὑποκρέμαται. 295 (117). διαμπερὲς (ἀντὶ τοῦ, διηλεκτός). 299 (121). κτιστοῖσι λάεσσιν. 306 (128). τυφλὸν (ἀντὶ τοῦ, Τυφάονα). 309 (131). ἐν κορυφῇ. 326 (147 b). ὁ στίχος οὗτος οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ. 327 (148). καὶ νῦν μέντοι γὰρ. 331. χωμένη περ. 337. αὐτοὶ (ἀντὶ τοῦ, αὐτὰρ). 339. φέρτερος ἢ πόσονον Κρόνον. 343. δ' ἥπειτα. 347. πολυαλίστοισι. 355. ὅς κακὰ πολλὰ. 359. κατὰ χώραν. 363. πονυβουεῖρη. 364. σὺ γε ζωοῖσι. 367. θανάτῳ τε. 368. οὐδὲ χίμαιρα. 371. ἱμερον μένος. Οἱ στίχοι 372, 373, 374 λείπουν ἐκ τοῦ Βατοπεδονοῦ χειρογράφου. 379. ἐξαπάφοντα. 383. πέτρῃσι προχυτήσιν. Οἱ στίχοι 391, 392, 393 λείπουν ἐκ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσι μεταθεθειμένοι μετὰ τὸν 396 στίχον. (391. Ἑρὰ τε βέξουσι καὶ ἀγέλουσι θέμιστας). 395. ἡμαθὴν (ἀντὶ τοῦ, νῆα θοήν). 402. ἐπεφράσατο νοήσας. 403. ἀνασεύσασκε. 406. οὐδὲ λύν λαίφος. 408. ἔχειρε. 410. ἀλυστέφανον πολυέθρον. 417. ἀμφὶς ὀρούσει. 419. πείραν ἔχουσα. 420. ἦεν ὁδόν. 423. ἐκτρίμενον αἰπύ. 436. δ' ἥπειτα. 444. φλόγα δαῖε. 452. πόθεν ἔστέ. 456. τετιηότες. 460. ἀδρόκοτες. 468. ἐκγεάγασιν. 488. νῆα δ' ἔπειτα θοήν. 492. δ' ἥπειτα. 500. καὶ ἡπαιήονα νηόν. 501. οὗτος ὁ στίχος λείπει ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου. 507. παρὰ δ' ἔριματα. 509. ἐπὶ δ' ἀλφειά. 516. οἱ δὲ φρίσσοντες. 521. ἔμελλεν. 522. τετιμημένος. 523. δῆξε δ' ἄγον αὐτοῦ δάπεδον καὶ πόνα νηόν. 544. σὺ φρεσί.

Ὕμνος εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

στιχ. 1. Ἑρμῆν ὕμνῃ Μοῦσα. 5. ἡλαύνει ὕμνον. 31. χοροῦντε. 37. ἔσσαι αἰχμὰ. 38. τότε ἀν. 44. ὄντε θαμναί. 45. αἶ ὅτε δυνηθῶσι. 48. διὰ ῥινόιο χελώνης. 52. τεύξε φέρων. 54. κονάβισε. 58. ἑταιρίην. 79. σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκ'. 82. ἀγαλόν. 83. ἀβλαβέως. 87. δόμων αἰθουσαν. 93. ὅτε μηκέτι. 94. τόσονον φασὶν ἔσσει βωῶν. 99. σκοπιῇ. 100. Μεγαμηδείας. 103. ἀδμητὲς δ' ἡλάννον ἐς αἴλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον. 110. ἐν παλάμῃ ἀναδάμπνυτο. 114. φύζαν. 116. ὑποβρυχίας. 122. νῶτα γεράσματα. 124. ἐνί πέτρῃ. 125. ὡς ἐτι νῦν τάμε τ' ἄσσα. 127. χαρμοφέρων. 132. ἡδὲ (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡδέι). 133. πέρην. 136. σῆμα νέης φωνῆς—αἰέρας. 138. ἐπεὶ πάντα. 148. ἰθύνας. 155. πόθεν τάδε. 156. νῦν δέ σε. 157. ἦ τάχα. 160. ἔρρε πάλιν. 163. τιτύσκει. 168. ἀδωρήτοι καὶ ἀπαστοι. 175. δύναιμι δέ. 212. ὁδὸν κίε φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. 224. Οὔτε τι κενταύρου λασιαίχενος ἐστὶν ὁμοία. 232. κιδνάτο. 238. πρέμνον ἀνθρακίην ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει. 241. δῆρα. 242. ἄγρης εἰνετιὼν τε χέλυν. 254. ὅς ἐν κλίῃ. 256. ῥίψω γὰρ σε βαλὼν. 259. ὀλγόισιν ἐν ἀνδράσιν.

262. καὶ βούς ἀγραύλους. 265. ὁ στίχος οὗτος τελευτᾷ 'οὐ ἔμῳν.' 266. οὗτος δὲ ἀρχεται 'ἔργον τοῦτο.' 279. ὀφρύνει ῥιπτάεσκε. 280. τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων. 288. ἀντήσεις ἀγέλησι βωῶν καὶ πάεσι μῆλων. 289. πύματον καὶ ὕστατον. 306. ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἐλιγμένος. 316. οὐκ ἀδίκως. 322. αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἱκοντο. 325. εὐμυλίη. 326. ἄφθιτοι ἡγερέθοντο ποτὶ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο. 342. εὐθυπόρον δ' ἐλάων τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχνια δοῦα πέλωρα. 345. αὐτὸς δ' οἶτος, ὅδ' ἐκτὸς ἀμύχανος. 357. καὶ διὰ πῦρ μάλ' ἄμυσεν ὁδοῦ. 361. αὐγὰς ὠμάρταξε. 366. Ἑρμῆς δ' αὐθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβομένος ἔπος ἦδα. 376. τάδε τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτός. 381. Ἥλιον μάλ' αἰδέομαι. 383. Ἐπιδάομαι ὅρκον. 384. εὐκόσμητα. 385. καὶ ποτ'...νηλέα φωνήν. 397. σπεύδοντο. 398. ἡμαθόντα δ' ἐπ'...400. ἦχ' οὐ δὴ τὰ χρίματα.

407. θαυμαίνω. 410. ἄγνοῦ. 414. ἀθροίστας τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόν τις. 415. πῦρ ἀμαρύνσων. 419. κατὰ μέλος. 420. γέλασε φοῖβος. 422. ὁ στίχος οὗτος λείπει ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου. 431. κατὰ πρέσβην. 446. φηλητά. 453. ὧδε μέλησιν. 457-458. Οἱ στίχοι λείπουν ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου. 459. καὶ μητρί τῷδ' κ.τ.λ. 460. κραναῖνον. 472. παρὰ θέσφατα. 473. ἔγωγε παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν. 474. αὐτ' ἄγρετόν ἐστι. 478. εὐμόλπει. 479. ἐπισταμένως. 482. ὅστις ἂν αὐτῇ. 486. φθέγγουσα δύπαθον. 487. ἐρέεινε. 488. θρυαλίζοι. 497. ἔχων. 501. κατὰ μέλος ἡδ' ὑπὸ καλόν. 502. ὑπὸ μέλος ἄεισεν. 503. βόες. 507. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑρμῆ. 508. ὡς ἐτι καὶ νῦν. 515. ἀνακλέψης. 520. ἔρδοις. 531. ἐπικραίνουσα θεοῖς. 539. χρυσάραπι. 540. Ὅσα βούλεται. 543. καὶ μῆν. 547. ἐθελήσει. 552. Μοῖραι γάρ τινες. 557. ἀλέγνυν. 558. δ' ἥπειτα. 563. πηρῶνται δ' ἥπειτα πάρεξ ὁδόν ἡγεμονεύει. 565. καὶ ἦν βροτὸν. 572. Οἶον εἰς αἶδην.

Ὁ ὕμνος εἰς Ἑρμῆν κατέχει ὀκτὼ φύλλα καὶ μίαν σελίδα τοῦ χειρογράφου, δηλαδὴ 17 σελίδας ἐν συνόλῳ. ἡ τελευταία σελὶς ἔχει στίχους 32, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ 34.

Ὕμνος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

10. ἄδεν. 13. ποιῆσαι σκύντα καὶ ἄρματα. 14. ἦδε τε. 20. πόλις ἀνδρῶν. 22. Ἑστία. 32. πρέσβυρα. 46. μιγήμεναι. 52. ἀνέμιξε. 56. τὸν δ' ἥπειτα...φιλομείδης. 65. φιλομείδης. 72. ἦσαν. 87. ἐπιγναμπτάς. 93. χρυσὴ Ἀφροδίτη. 99. βῆσα. 103. ἄνδρα. 132. οὐ γάρ τε. 136. οὐ σφὴν ἀεικελὴ νύος ἔσσομαι, ἀλλ' εἰκνία. μετὰ τούτων ἀκολουθεῖ ὁ στίχος ὅδε: 'εἴ τι ἀεικελὴ γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί.' 139. οἱ δέ τε χρυσόν κεν. 141. δαῖνυν. 173. εὐποιήτοιο. 174. ἦρε κάρη. 200. Ἀγχι θεοί. 203. ἥρπασε ὄν. 206. ἐκ κρατήρος. 209. τὸν δ' ἥπειτα. 214. καὶ ἀγῆρας ἥματα πάντα. 229. εὐγενέος. 244. λείπει τὸ, τὰ χα. 245. τό γ' ἔπειτα. 247. μετ' ἀθανάτοισι. 252.

οὐκέτι μοι στοναχῆσεται. 254. οὐκ ὀνότατον.
272. τὸν δεχ' ὁμοῦ. 284. φασί τι νύμφης.

Τὸ χειρόγραφον ἔχει στίχους 294.

† Ἐτερος ὕμνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν.

στιχ. 7. ἐτίκτον.

† Διόνυσος ἢ λησταί.

στιχ. 8. τοὺς δ' ἤγαγε. 13. λυδοὶ (ἀντὶ
λύγοι). 22. αὐτὸν ἀφώμεν. 27. Σύμπανθ'
ὄπλα. 43. μὴ δῆδεν (ἀντὶ, νῆ ἤδη).

† Εἰς Ἀρεα.

Οὐδεμία διαφορὰ ὑπάρχει.

† Εἰς Ἀρτεμιν.

στιχ. 1. Ἀρτεμιν ὕμνεϊ. 3. βαθυσχοίνοιο
μελίγῃς. 7. θεαὶ δ' ἄμα.

† Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ ὑπάρχει.

† Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

† Εἰς Ἥραν.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

† Εἰς Δήμητραν.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

† Εἰς μητέρα θεῶν.

στιχ. 2. ὕμνεϊ. 3. τυμπάνων.

† Εἰς Ἡρακλέα λεοντόθυμον.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

† Εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν.

στιχ. 3. κούρη φλεγύος.

† Εἰς Διοσκόρους.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

στιχ. 8. ἔχει.

Εἰς Πάνα.

στιχ. 11. μηλοσκοπόν. 12. αἰγινόνε. 14.
τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἐκλαγεν οἶον. 15. ἄκρης
ἐξανίων. 16. νῖδνον. 17. πολάνθεος. 18.
χεί μελίγῃν. 31. ἐθα δέ οἱ. 32. ψαφερό-
τριχα. 33. παρὰ θνητῷ θάλε γάρ. 38. ἀναΐξας.

† Εἰς Ἥφαιστον.

στιχ. 1. αἶδεο.

† Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

Εἰς Ποσειδῶνα.

στιχ. 3. Αἴγας. 6. Ποσειδάον.

† Εἰς ὕπατον Κρονίδην ἢ Δία.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

† Εἰς Ἑστίαν.

στιχ. 4. ἐπέρχει θυμὸν ἔχονσα.

† Εἰς Μούσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα.

στιχ. 1. Ζηνὸς τε. 5. φίλων τε.

† Εἰς Διόνυσον.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ.

† Εἰς Ἀρτεμιν.

† Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.

Εἰς Ἑστίαν.

λείπουσιν ὁ ἑνατος καὶ δέκατος στίχος ἐκ τῆς
θέσεως αὐτῶν, εἰσι δὲ μετατεθειμένοι μετὰ τὸν
ἐνδέκατον στίχον.

† Εἰς τὴν γῆν μητέρα πάντων.

στιχ. 14. περσεσάνθεοι. 15. χαίρουσι.

† Εἰς Ἥλιον.

στιχ. 7. ἀκάματ'. 10. χρυσῆς ἐκ. 12. χάριεν.
16. θεσπέσιος πίμπησι.

† Εἰς Σελήνην.

στιχ. 1. μῆνην αἶδειν. 6. ἀκτῆρες δ' ἐν
διάονται. 11. Ἑσπερίη διχόμενος ὅτε πλήθει.

† Εἰς Διοσκόρους.

στιχ. 16. πόνου σφίσιν. 19. ὕμνων καὶ
ἄλλης.

Εἰς ξένους.

Αἰδεῖσθε ξενίων κεκρημένον ἡδὲ δόμοιο
Οἱ πόλιν αἰπεινὴν νύμφης ἐρατωπίδος Ἥρης
Ναίετ' ἐς ἀδην ἥς πόδα νεάτον ὑψικόμοιο
Ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ὕδωρ ξανθοῦ ποταμοῖο
Ἐβρου καλὰ ρέοντος, ὃν ἀθανατος τέκετο
Ζεὺς.

τέλος.

Ἐτελείωσα τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν τῶν ἀνωτέρω ἐκ
τῶν σημειώσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ τετραδίῳ μου τῇ
10/23α Αὐγούστου 1893 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Νάξῳ τὰς
διατριβὰς ποιούμενος.

M. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ.

ἐκ Πανόρμου τῆς Κυζίκου.

NOTES ON ELEMENTUM.

In Allen and Greenough's *Latin Grammar*,
p. 146, we read :— 'So *elementum* is a devel-
opment from L-M-N-a, l-m-n's (letters of the
alphabet), changed to *elementa* along with
other nouns in *men*.'

This has all the appearance of a folk-
etymology and its first occurrence seems to
be unknown. In the Döderlein-Heindorf
ed. of Horace's *Satires* (Leipzig, 1859), in
the note to i. 1, 26, we read :— 'Scharfsinnig
leitete jemand das etymologisch nicht
erklärten Wort *elementa* aus der Zusammen-

stellung der Buchstaben *l, m, n*, her wie wir
sagen das A. B. C. Gewiss bedeutete
elementa, wie das Griech. *στοιχεῖα* ursprüng-
lich die einzelnen Buchstaben welche Wörter
bilden, erst metaphorisch überhaupt einzelne
Bestandtheile (*elementa* mit *ἄλεμα*, *ἀλέκτης*
verwandt, als Mehlstäubchen). This view,
supported by Keightley and the Century
Dictionary, has been rejected by almost all
etymologists. Cf. Pott, *Etymologische Forsch.*
ii. 1, 192, where he combats this derivation,
which he speaks of however as an 'als

hübscher Einfall nennenswerthe Herleitung.'

No trace of this etymology occurs, so far as I can find, in any Latin grammarian, where certainly we might have expected it, if true or supposable.

It is evident that if it can be proved that *elementum* meant first a letter, and only by metaphorical use the element of a thing, this etymology will have more probability. Conversely, if it can be shown with reasonable certainty that the word was first used in the latter sense, grave doubt is cast on this derivation.

The Latin grammarians discuss the word as follows:—Diomedes, *Ars Gramm.* (Keil i. 421, 17) *elementum est minima vis et indivisibilis materia vocis articulatae vel uniuscuiusque rei initium a quo sumitur incrementum et in quod resolvitur.*

Priscian. *Inst. Gramm.* (Keil ii. 6, 14) *litteras autem etiam elementorum vocabulo nuncupaverunt ad similitudinem mundi elementorum; sicut enim illa coeuntia omne perficiunt corpus, sic etiam haec coniuncta litteralem vocem quasi corpus aliquod component vel magis vere corpus...Littera igitur est nota elementi...abusive tamen et elementa pro litteris et litterae pro elementis vocantur.*

See also Probus, *Inst. Artium* (Keil iv. 48); Serg. *Explanat. in artem Donati* (Keil iv. 487); *Audacis Excerpta* (Keil vii. 321); Dosithei *Ars Gramm.* (Keil vii. 381); Marius Victorinus, *Ars Gramm.* (Keil vi. 5), where the same explanation is repeated.

In Lucretius (who, with Cicero, first uses it) the word occurs twenty-four times, if I have counted correctly, and in only seven instances does it mean the letters of the alphabet, never the alphabet itself. In fact, the only case I find where it means the alphabet itself is the well-known one in Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 56. Cicero uses the word for the beginnings, constituent elements of things, and for the rudiments of arts and sciences, nowhere, I think, distinctly for the letters of the alphabet.

The number of cases where it means letters is very small both absolutely and relatively. Palmer, in his note to Hor. *Sat.* i. 26, says '*elementa* by itself is the alphabet only. Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 56.' Perhaps I do not quite understand what is meant by 'by itself,' but cf. Quint. i. 1, 24 *pudeatne me in ipsis statim elementis*, where we have in the preceding section *prima litterarum elementa*; Quint. ii. 3, 1 *ad suscipiendas elementorum molestias*, where it seems to me that the whole context is against limiting the meaning to letters; Cic. *Acad.* i. 7, 26 *ergo illa initia et, ut e Graeco vertam, elementa dicuntur*; Ov. *Met.* xv. 237 *Haec quoque non perstant quae nos elementa vocamus*; Hor. *Epist.* i. 1, 27 *ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.*

Elementa was the equivalent of στοιχεῖα, as shown in the passage quoted above from Cicero's *Academica*, where *initia* represents ἀρχαί and *elementa* στοιχεῖα. The transfer of meaning from element in this sense to the parts of a word seems more natural and easy than the transfer in the other direction. No sufficient evidence can be produced to prove that *elementa* meant first letters and then elements, and probability is against it.

In Fulgentius and ecclesiastical Latin we find the word *abecedaria* for the alphabet. Why should this have been coined if *elementa* represented the same idea and formation?

Most etymologists accept the ordinary derivation (*al, ol + mentum*), recognizing the difficulty of explaining the weakening of *al* or *ol* to *el*, and the existence of *elementum* and *alimentum* side by side. The antepenultimate *e* is however explained satisfactorily by King and Cookson (*Principles of Sound and Inflection*, pp. 91-2) by the 'balancing power of *l*,' so that *elimentum* easily becomes *elementum*.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

Adelbert College.

OPERA AND OPERAE EST.

BEING dissatisfied with some interpretations of *opera* and the usual explanation of *operae est*, I have examined a number of passages in which *opera* occurs and I think all the passages in which *operae est* is found.

From this investigation I deduce the following statement of the meaning of

OPERA:—

1. A working, exertion.
 2. A working willingly, willing service.
- (This is the predominant meaning.)

3. A willingness to work, energy. (Of this meaning examples are Cic. *Q. Fr.* 3. 4. 4 *de versibus, quos tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera.* id. *Mur.* 36 *quis Philippum summo ingenio, opera, gratia, &c.* id. *Att.* 15. 13. 6 *exstabit opera praeegrinationis huius*, 'you will see how energetic I have been during this tour.')

Opera is used in the plural very frequently to indicate repeated action. It is also used in a concrete sense = workman, usually in plural, but [Horace *Sat.* ii. 7. 118 *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*, of a single slave.

[For the sake of analogy compare these uses of *imperium*. Cic. *Leg.* 3. 3. 9 *imperia* = *imperatores*. Verr. 4. 111 *decumarum imperia*, 'repeated imposition of tithes.']

Applying the result of this investigation to all the passages where the phrase *operae est* occurs, I find that the second meaning of *opera* exactly suits every passage, if *operae* is taken as predicative dative.

I conclude therefore that the meaning of *OPERAE EST* is 'it is a willing service, a pleasant task.' The phrase is exactly similar to *voluptati est, exitio est*, or any other phrase in which the predicate dative occurs.

Just as *cordi* is qualified by *magis* and *maxime*, *voluptati* by *maxime* (Seneca *de Benef.* 1. 11 § 6), so *operae* is qualified by *magis*, Plaut. *Ps.* 377 *magis operae si sit plus tecum loquar*.

The person or thing pleased is put in the dative case.

To take a few examples:—

Persius vi. 9 (from Ennius) *Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite cives!* Persius is speaking of the beauties of the Gulf of Spezzia. The subject of *est operae* is *cognoscere* to be supplied from *cognoscite*. 'Acquaint yourselves with the haven of L., 'tis a pleasant task.'

Plautus *Merc.* prol. 14 *sed ea ut sim implicitus, dicam, si operae est auribus atque advortendum animum adest benignitas*, i.e. 'if your ears are willing to listen.'

Plautus *Amph.* 151 *adeste: erit operae vobis inspectantibus Iovem et Mercurium facere hic histrioniam*, 'attend: the acting here of J. and M. will give a pleasant employment to (the minds of) you spectators.'

Livy xlv. 36. fin. *non operae sit stanti nunc in acie docere, quibus de causis hodie quiescere melius sit: rationes alias reposcito*. 'I should be unwilling to explain to you now (sc. if you asked me). *Non operae sit* (sc. *mihi*) = *nolim*, the protasis being mentally supplied from *reposcito*. Cf. Roby, 1536.

I shall now discuss some of the explanations which seem to me to have arisen from an inadequate conception of the meaning of *opera* and the phrase *operae est*.

LEWIS AND SHORT, s.v. *opera* B. 'Leisure, spare time,' citing *operae est*, the meaning of which I have explained, and Plaut. *Merc.* 2. 2. 15 *dicam si videam tibi esse operam aut otium*, where *operam* evidently means willingness to hear and is distinguished from *otium*. Cf. *Merc.* prol. 14 cited above. L. and S. also cite *Rudens* 440 *quor tu operam gravare mihi?* where the context shows that *operam* is = *operam amatoriam*, 'why do you grudge me the favour?'

SPENGLER, *Truculentus*, p. 122, l. 30. n. *operae erit* = *otium erit*.

What authority is there for assigning this arbitrary meaning?

HEITLAND, Cic. *Murena*, Pitt Press, Cambridge, 1886, p. 47 § 21 n. on *assiduitatis et operarum harum cotidianarum*. [*operarum*] "jobs," perhaps with a touch of the sense "day-labourers," as Zumpt thinks. The plural is certainly contemptuous.' It seems to me that *operarum h.c.* means 'this daily display of energy,' or more literally 'these daily labourings,' the plural like that of other abstract substantives denoting the repeated display of the quality. I am not aware either of any reason for limiting the concrete meaning of *opera*, by confining it to one who works by the day. Nor does it seem to me possible that Cicero should speak contemptuously of the forensic labours of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and two lines before he says *summa in utroque est honestas, summa dignitas, quam ego si mihi per Servium liceat, pari atque eadem in laude ponam*.

WORDSWORTH, *Frag. and Spec. Early Latin*, Clarendon Press, 1874, p. 614 n. '*operum operarumque* = *operum dierumque*. "Opera est quantum uno die operis potest fieri, et dierum significationem includit recte monente Gesnero." (Schneider). The words of the passage in Cato's *De Re Rustica* to which this note refers are: *rationem inire oportet operarum, dierum, si ei opus non apparet. Dicit vilicus sedulo se fecisse, servos non valuisse, tempestates malas fuisse, servos aufugisse. Ubi eas aliasque causas multas dixerit ad rationem operum operarumque vilicum revoca*. I have no doubt that *operarum* means 'slaves employed on the farm' in this place. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 118 *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*.

NÄGELSBACH, *Lat. Stilistik*, 7th ed. p. 45 der Lat. Plural für das deutsche Abstractum. 'Thätigkeit: *operae* nicht selten, z. B. Cic.

Off. 2. 12 *pleraque sunt hominum operis effecta.* Surely the plural here denotes the working of different men at different times, and cannot be the plural of a concrete substantive used in abstract sense, like *facta*, *instituta*, *mores*, *munera*, *dedecora*, &c.

Revised Latin Primer, 1889, p. 32 § 61. 'Some words have a different meaning in singular and plural: *opera* labour, *operæ* work-people.' This seems misleading as *operæ* rather more frequently, I think, does not mean 'work-people.'

ROBY 1283, '*operæ est* usually with negative *nec* or *non* "it is a matter of attention," hence colloquially = *commodum est*.' Out of seventeen places in which I have found the phrase only ten have a negative. This translation, I think, is ambiguous and misses the chief idea, that of willingness. Livy uses the phrase more frequently than Plautus, and with exactly the same meaning. It is not, so far as I can discover, used by Cicero, who seems to have avoided also the phrase *operæ pretium est* in his later speeches. Plaut. *Merc.* 5. 2. 76 *qua causa?* EU. *operæ non est.* CH. *Cur?* EU. *quia non est illi commodum*, seems to show that it is not equivalent to *commodum est*.

TYRRELL,¹ *Miles Gloriosus*, 1881, p. 163. n. 252. '*operæ non est*, "she is not at leisure for it," literally, "it is not a thing (a case) of work" = "it is not a thing about which she feels bound to trouble herself." *Operæ* is the *genetivus generis*.' This is perhaps the

best attempt to explain *operæ* as a genitive, treating it as similar to *moris est Graecorum ut*, &c. Cic. *Verr.* 1. 66; but the genitive *Graecorum* (*Tac. Agr.* 42 and Quintilian 1. 1. 13. however use dative), the absence of any phrases at all similar, except where the possessive genitive is used predicatively e.g. *fortitudinis est*, and the alien idea suggested by 'at leisure,' seem to me decisive against this interpretation. '*Genetivus generis*' seems to be a misprint due to dittography. The real meaning seems to me to be 'she is not inclined to, she does not wish,' literally, 'it is not a pleasant task.' Cf. *Merc.* 5. 2. 73 *segg.*

CONINGTON AND NETTLESHIP,² *Persius*, 2nd ed. 1874, p. 118. n. 6. 9. '*est operæ*, "now's your time." *Opera* for opportunity or working time, especially in the genitive which seems to be partitive.' I do not think that this translation suits the context so well as that which I have suggested. I have not been able to discover any passage in which *opera* means working time, or opportunity. The term partitive genitive does not seem to be used in exactly the same sense as by Madvig, *Gram.* § 284, Zumpt, *Gram.* § 429, Roby 1290 *segg.*

In conclusion, it has occurred to me that perhaps in *opera* (and in *cura*) we have an old verbal substantive, with the same suffix as appears in the present infinitive active.

J. S.

June 4, 1894.

¹ Unchanged in last edition.

² Unchanged in last edition.

Ἐκτημόροι OR ἑκτημόροι (p. 296).

I AM quite willing to believe that I may have been carried too far by modern analogies. Any farmer or *métayer* whose rent was only a sixth of the gross produce would now be thought to have a sufficiently good bargain: on the other hand, the penalty for default was worse than mere eviction. The case however is not so one-sided as it appears in my friend Prof. Sidgwick's presentment of it. It will be seen from the article 'Hectemorii' in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, or from Dr. Sandys' note on 'Αθ. Πολ. c. 2, that the ancient authorities are divided on the question whether the ἑκτημόροι paid, or retained, five-sixths of the produce. Modern scholars from Schömann (*de Comitibus*, 1819) downwards have been (or were until quite

lately) almost to a man in favour of the former view: Boeckh, who in his first edition held that the rent was one-sixth, was afterwards converted by Schömann; Gilbert (*Staatsalterth.* i. 125) remarks, in words equivalent to my own, 'Im letzten Falle könnte von keiner Härte die Rede sein'; Büchsenhützel, the specialist on Greek economics, noticing the passage from Isocr. *Areop.* § 32, which had been adduced by K. F. Hermann, observes 'τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίαις μισθώσεσι παραδιδόντες ist nach allen Seiten zu allgemein und unbestimmt um für die hier behandelte Frage etwas entscheiden zu können' (*Besitz und Erwerb*, p. 50). I will add that the 'good old times' of Isocrates in the *Areopagiticus* appear to me to be the

moderate democracy after Solon and Cleisthenes but before Pericles (see especially § 16), not the pre-Solonian oligarchy of which he knew so little. This is likewise the opinion of Prof. Jebb (*Att. Or.* ii. 202). An entire generation of scholars were practically unanimous in what I ventured to

call the 'common-sense view' of the condition of the Hectemorii. I am not prejudiced in its favour, but I think it deserves to be re-stated before being finally abandoned.

W. WAYTE.

OSCAN ANAZAKET.

MR. HORTON-SMITH's ingenious discussion of this form in the May No. of the *Cl. Rev.* is a little difficult to follow, from the wealth of alternatives which he offers. But on the main point, the value of the symbol ζ or S in inscriptions in Greek alphabet, I cannot accept his conclusions.

Mr. Horton-Smith supposes the word to be 'borrowed' from the Greek ἀνάθηκε. Passing by the impossibility of -θήκε in any dialect but Elean,¹ and the very serious questions whether a verb can be 'borrowed' with its tense termination affixed, or whether a verb can be borrowed at all except under certain special (e.g. political) conditions—we have to ask simply, 'What was the sound of S in Oscan?' Mr. Horton-Smith seems to hesitate between (1) an Attic θ, (2) a Laconian θ, i.e. the English aspirant in *thin*, and (3) an s pure and simple. Now (1) we know from innumerable examples how the regular Greek aspirates were represented in Italic, namely by the corresponding tennes (*Santia, Pilipus*), and there is no evidence whatever that ζ could be also used to represent them: (2) Mr. Horton-Smith seems himself to recognize the complete absence of evidence for a spirantic θ anywhere in Magna Graecia in the third century B.C., and there is absolutely none for such a use of the ζ; and will he read the nomen of the other inscription as *θεοτιος*?² (3) If we are bidden to read the

symbol S simply as equivalent to the four-stroke unrounded ζ of the same two inscriptions, then is it not remarkable that this S should be used elsewhere with the value f, and only used in these two inscriptions (once beside three examples of ζ in the one, once beside five examples of ζ in the other) in words in which it may perfectly well be read as f? And secondly, can there be found in the 1200 pages of Saalfeld's *Thesaurus Italo-Graecus* a single example of an Italic word with s derived from a Greek word with θ? No mention of such a change is to be found in his *Lautgesetze der Griechischen Lohnwörter*; on the contrary he expressly accepts (p. 19) Curtius' remark (*Grdzg.* p. 416) that the absence of such forms proves that θ was not a spirant.

Mr. Horton-Smith prudently abstains from pledging himself to any one of these alternatives, and, however it be interpreted, the hypothesis of borrowing appears to me to hang upon a string of desperate improbabilities.

In favour of reading the ζ or S as f we have the strong direct evidence of the *senesmu*: *Sevrep* coins with identical types, the fact that some symbol for f must have been devised in a Greek alphabet used to write Oscan, the *a priori* probability that a discarded form of the symbol of a similar sound would be chosen for the purpose, and the fact that both *Festies* and *anafaket* are perfectly good Oscan words. The latter I prefer to regard (with von Planta) as containing two prepositions, so that the corresponding Latin form would be '*inaffect.'

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, June 1894.

¹ The alternative suggested is no doubt less improbable in itself, viz. that the supposed stem *anasē-*, meaning 'to dedicate,' should have been influenced by the Oscan stems *sākre-*, *sāka-*. But I know of no examples of the transference of a verb in a particular tense, and that tense only, from one language to another.

² Dr. von Planta tells me there is a clear : between the τ and the ε.

AN EMENDATION.

IN the 'Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates' concerning the Translation of the Law of Moses by the LXXII. under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus occurs the following (ed. M. Schmidt in Merx's *Archiv* for 1868). When the king is taking leave of the Translators, he tells them (p. 69) should they return to him παραγενθέντας δὲ, ὡς θέμις, ἔξει αὐτοὺς φίλους, καὶ πολυδωρίας τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. The word πολυδωρία may be a good Greek word; it occurs once in Xenophon, but it makes very bad sense here, and puts into the king's mouth a most vulgar sentiment. I have

no doubt we should read πολυωρίας, a word occurring in the early papyri of the third century B.C. as well as the verb πολυωρέω, for the opposites of ὀλιγωρία and ὀλιγωρέω. The king says that, whenever they choose to return, he will treat them with the greatest consideration. The two verbs are our 'make much of' and 'make little of.'

So also (p. 35) it is said Μ ἀνδρῶν ἐγκληροὶ καθειωτήκεισαν ἑκατονταρούροις. Read ἑκατοντάρουροι, a technical term common in the Petrie Papyri. The word is omitted in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

PLAUTUS *RUDENS* 160—2. SCHOELL.

Sed o Palaemon, sancte Neptuni comes,
Qui aerumnæ Herculeæ socius esse diceris
Quod facinus video?

By all means bracket 161. Is it a result of reading in 160—

Sed o Palaemon, Sance Neptuni comes

upon which a gloss has been appended

'Qui Hercule N[eptuni] sociū esse dicerēs?'

'How could you call Hercules (*i.e.* Sancus) a comrade of Neptune?'

ERNEST T. ROBSON.

MILTON AND PINDAR.

LITERARY parallels appear differently to different minds, but the following seems to me as close as others which have been quoted in the *Classical Review*:—

Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will
of Heaven.

MILTON, *Sonnet vii.*

ἔμοι δ' ὅποιαν ἀρετὰν
ἔδωκε Πότμος ἀναξ,
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.
PINDAR, *Nem.* iv. 67.

Had Milton read Pindar—of course he may have done so—in his 'three and twentieth year'?

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

JEBB'S *ELECTRA*.

IN welcoming the sixth volume of Professor Jebb's great critical work on Sophocles, it is idle to expatiate on the qualities which distinguish it, for they are known to all scholars. If the Greek scholarship of England is able in this generation to 'speak with its enemies in the gate,' there are few men who will have a larger share of the credit for this achievement than the editor of Sophocles, with his fine taste and sober judgment, his full but discriminating knowledge, his detailed thoroughness of work, his unrivalled instinct for the subtleties of Greek expression, and his luminous and forcible exposition.

The introduction contains the history of the legend of Orestes from its first appearance in the *Odyssey* to 1783, when Alfieri published his *Oreste*. Perhaps the most interesting pages are those (xv.-xxii.) where Professor Jebb, following mainly the *Bild und Lied* of Robert, builds up, from evidences scattered about among ancient references and extant vase-paintings, a highly probable restoration of the treatment of the myth in the *Oresteia* of Stesichoros. There could not be a better example either of Professor Jebb's power of lucid statement, or of the unexpected light which the recent study of Greek art, on a thorough and systematic plan, may throw on old literary problems.

In making a full and careful comparison of the three extant *Oresteiai* of the tragedians, Professor Jebb is of course traversing old ground. His most instructive contribution here is the great stress he lays on the question, Why does Sophocles give no hint that Orestes after his matricide was liable to the visitation of the Furies? The editor suggests that it is because the poet chose to adopt the Homeric view of the story, viz. that Orestes' vengeance was entirely laudable. But he argues that this is an incomplete defence for Sophocles, since in the poet's version Apollo is still an element in the story: and the god was introduced not only to command the murder, but to purify the murderer. And if the murderer is not purified, or needs no repentance, is not the presence of Apollo superfluous?

The difficulty is a real one; but it is at least certain that Sophocles could not have been blind to it: if he ignored the Erinyes, he must have done it deliberately. Perhaps the truth may be (as the *Electra* is a late

play) that the higher moral teaching about guilt, so emphatically insisted on in the *Coloneus*, is here implicitly but intentionally applied to the Erinyes. If guilt (as Oedipus passionately pleads) lies in the evil will, and not in the deed, then Orestes requires no formal purification when once Apollo, the god of light and justice, has taken the responsibility of the deed.

If this is so, then Sophocles' view is not only not a return to Homer's crude approval of the vengeance: it is the last stage in the moralization of the tale. Justice requires the murder: and in Homer it is therefore done without misgiving. But matricide is horrible guilt: and so from Stesichoros to Aeschylus the Furies punish it, though Apollo saves and purifies the offender. Thus arises a theological 'scheme of salvation' for Orestes, which is worked out in Aeschylus' trilogy. Sophocles' solution is simpler and higher: if Apollo ordered the matricide, it is a just and not a guilty deed. It follows that the Erinyes, who punish unjust homicide (113) and adultery (276), are to be feared by Klytaemnestra and Aigisthos, but not by Orestes: and thus Electra may even invoke them (115) to help in the deed of vengeance.

In the commentary on the text there is no new emendation as brilliant as ὥσπερ ἰάλεμον χέων (*O. T.* 1219) or λυτήριον λώφημα (*Trach.* 554); but there are many places where Professor Jebb's lucid and subtle discussion of difficulties gives material help toward the settlement of disputed questions of reading or interpretation. Such are his notes in favour of reading ὄρκον (47), ἀχέων and not ἄχεων (159), τεκίων (187), ἐλάνθαν' ἄν (914), and Musgrave's τὰ φύσει for τῇ φύσει in the well-known *crux* of 686. There is an excellent note and appendix on ἀρχέπλουτον (72), where the editor shows strong ground for translating 'master of my possessions': τοῦ μὲ μὴ λυπεῖν (363) is well defended against the numerous corrections: and there is much to be said for the correction θάσος τι in 495. We are glad to see that Prof. Jebb is converted from his old view of τὸ μὴ καλὸν καθοπλίσασα in 1086: for though the participle is still very doubtful, there can be little question that σοφά τ' ἀρίστα τε παῖς κεκλήσθαι must be the praise which the chorus give, and not that which they refuse, to Electra.

On the other hand there are one or two

points on which the editor has not converted us, and where at least an appeal may be made to him for further consideration. One concerns the 'divided attribute,' which occurs three times in the play (133, 284, 1143), and on which the notes give an uncertain sound. On 133 Prof. Jebb says, commenting on the phrase τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἄθλιον, that 'an adjective, though not a predicate, is sometimes thus placed': but he nowhere clearly says that it is *only* where the attribute consists of two elements (as ἐμὸν... ἄθλιον here) that one may be placed, and more commonly is placed, *after* the substantive. Nor is it needful that *either* of these elements should be adjectives: on 284 (where no reference is made to 133) he correctly quotes Thuc. vii. 23, αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆες ναυμαχοῦσαι, where one element is a preposition-phrase and the other a participle.

In 155, οἷτοι σοὶ μοῖνῃ... ἄχος ἐφάνη... πρὸς ὃ, τι σὺ τῶν ἐνδον εἶ περισσά, Prof. Jebb's note 'in respect to whatever grief' seems misleading: the ὃ, τι is due to the *negative* (as in οὐδέν... ὃ, τι) and means (as the editor gives it in his translation) 'not to you alone has any grief come wherein.' And εἰ περισσά can hardly mean 'less moderate in *showing*,' but simply 'thou dost exceed': so that the whole clause practically contains *two* points, 'you are not the *only* one afflicted' and 'you are not *more* afflicted than your sisters.'

In 443 why should δέξασθαι not be right, even if it be the only Sophoclean instance of the well-known use of the *aorist* infinitive with verbs of thinking? There are many other examples besides those which Professor Jebb quotes: e.g. Thuc. ii. 2 ἐνόμισαν ῥαδίως κρατῆσαι, *id.* vi. 24 νομίζων ἢ ἀποτρέψιν ἢ... ἐκπεῦσαι, Eur. Or. 1527 μῶρος εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι, and *Alas* 1082 (where some editors strangely take it *gnomic*) νόμιζε τῷ χρόνῳ πεσεῖν.

In 564 it is surely better to translate 'she kept those many winds at Aulis': we cannot feel it natural that the expression 'those many winds' should be used of the winds that did *not* come: they must be the *adverse* winds which Artemis held or kept at Aulis.

For the corrupt τὸν δαί πατρός δειλαία στενάχονσα in 1075 Prof. Jebb prefers (though he does not adopt) the ingenious ἁ παῖς οἶτον δαί πατρός of Heath. But does he not go too far in saying that Dindorf's τὸν ἐὼν πρότρων 'is excluded by the comparison with ἀηδών, which indicates that the doom she

mourns is not her own'? There is no incompatibility in Electra lamenting *her own* fate and her father's too: she does both constantly in the play. Nor does the comparison exclude it: the chorus in *Agamemnon* 1142 say to Cassandra

ἀμφὶ δ' αἰτᾶς θροεῖς
νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ
"Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένονσ' ἀηδών,

where the very same comparison of the nightingale mourning for Itys is applied to the prophetess lamenting for herself.

Lastly, in 1106, is it not both more dramatic and more natural that Orestes should not recognize his sister until he hears her lamentation over the urn? Prof. Jebb says that he would be 'dull' not to make the discovery sooner, and that he is acting a part. But it must be remembered that he has not before set eyes on her, and that she is not dressed as a princess but as a slave. When he does recognize her he is shocked at her σῶμ' ἀτίμως καθέως ἐφθαρμένον: there is indeed nothing to suggest to him who she is, until her sorrow over the supposed ashes reveals her. The coldness of οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν κληδόν' (1110) and the dramatic irony of δόθ' ἦ τις ἐστὶ (1123) lose their point if Orestes is acting a part.

In the appendix on 780 Professor Jebb has an excellent analysis of the uses of ὥστε οὐ with infinitive. The only comment we should like to add is that in the two passages under class III. which he quotes from Dem. 53 and *Phoenissae*. 1357 ὥστε οὐ stands not for ὥστε μὴ (as the editor says) but rather for ὥστε μὴ οὐ. This suggests that we should insert μὴ in the Demosthenes passage, and perhaps read ὡς μὴ οὐχ ἅπαντα in *Phoenissae*.

In conclusion a word of thanks should be given to the editor for the firm stand he has made here as elsewhere against the tendency of critics to suspect interpolation on perfectly inadequate grounds. The worst offender in the *Electra* is Nauck, who excises twenty-two lines altogether: and, as a specimen of his literary taste, it will be enough to quote the two beautiful lines which (if he had his wicked will) would no longer be read in Electra's lament over the urn:—

νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντα βαστάζω χερσίν
δόμων δέ σ', ὦ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεμψ' ἐγώ.

A. S.

GANZENMÜLLER'S *CIRIS*.

Beiträge zur Ciris von DR. CARL GANZENMÜLLER. Leipzig. 1894.

DR. GANZENMÜLLER in this excellent dissertation on the *Ciris* (which forms part of the twentieth supplemental volume to Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*), has reopened the questions which the problematical character of the poem raises, and which he satisfactorily shows to be hitherto unsolved. Teuffel had fixed the date of its composition from 19-14 B.C. Dr. Ganzemüller finds in it too many parallelisms with Ovid to admit so early a date. Zingerle in his *Kleine philologischen Abhandlungen* iii. pp. 23-31 (Innsbruck 1892) had already called attention to these correspondences between the two poets, but had not pressed the inquiry. The present treatise is minute and detailed, filling more than 100 pages of close small print. It must form the basis of any future edition, commentary or dissertation on the poem.

Unlike the *Culex*, *Moretum*, *Dirae*, *Copa*, the *Ciris* is preserved in no good or early MS. One short fragment alone 454-541 is contained in a Brussels codex of the twelfth century: all the other MSS. are, so far as is yet known, of the fifteenth. It was my hope, when working in Rome in 1887, to have discovered a new and independent source for the text of the *Ciris*, as the Corsini is for the text of the *Culex*, but in this I was disappointed, though some vestiges of a better tradition are mentioned in my article 'Further Notes on the *Ciris* and other poems of the Appendix Vergiliana' published in vol. viii. of the *American Journal of Philology*. After all, the text of the *Ciris* is less desperate than the *Catalepta*, a collection preserved in very few MSS., and those so hopelessly corrupt as to baffle all the ingenuity of criticism.

The first part of Ganzemüller's dissertation is a comparison of the verses of the *Ciris* with those of other poets, mainly of the Ciceronian and Augustan eras, though those of a later time are sometimes cited also, e.g. Manilius, Lucan, Val. Flaccus, Statius.

Catullus and Vergil are the poets most largely borrowed from: but there are many parallels with Lucretius, and, as Ganzemüller successfully shows, with Ovid, though in reading them side by side it is difficult to feel any certainty which of the two poets

preceded the other. G. believes that the *Astronomica* of Manilius were read and used by the poet of the *Ciris* (p. 561, note). The combination *Felix illa dies* in both is at least noticeable: but it is not certain that *illa* was written by the author of the *Ciris*, some of the MSS. giving *ille*.

The juxtaposition of so large a collection of passages where the same combinations of words in the same place of the verse occur is very instructive, even if it leaves the reader in doubt as to such combinations being anything more than fortuitous. V. 122 of the *Ciris* ends with the words *vertice crinis*; G. cites the same ending (sometimes with *crinem* or *crines*) ten times from Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius, Lucan, Silius and Statius. It is obvious that little or nothing can be inferred from so large an array of coincident endings as to any one of the poets being indebted to the other. *Perhaps*, and this is all we can say, Catullus set the tone, and it was taken up more or less unconsciously by the poets who followed him. Again *Cir.* 170 ends with the words *batata monilia collo*, and the same combination, only with the participle altered, is cited four times from Ovid. But it is at least as possible that Ovid took the combination from the *Ciris*, as *vice versa*. What is certain is that the poet of the *Ciris* copied, not Ovid, but Vergil, *Aen.* i. 654 *colloque monile Bacatum*. So, if both the *Ciris* and the account of Scylla in *Metamm.* viii. have *Nise pater!* as an exclamation, it is more than probable that one borrowed from the other: but I am not prepared to say with Ganzemüller that Ovid was the prior of the two.

Let me put the point in another form. The active use of *requiescere* is found in Calvus, the *Eclogues* of Vergil, and the *Ciris*. In all these cases the accusative is *cursor*. Here it is likely that Vergil copied Calvus, certain that he was himself copied by the poet of the *Ciris*. No such use is found in Ovid. What is to be inferred? I should suppose that the construction was felt by Ovid to be too harsh and strange to be admissible: the language of poetry had become more sensitive and intolerant of abnormal uses. If it was so, the *Ciris* would seem to belong to the less exacting and earlier period, and such real parallelisms with it as are found in Ovid are imitations of the *Ciris*.

In the
same way

The same reasoning may be applied to another of G.'s arguments. The *Ciris* omits those parts of the Scylla-legend which Ovid dwells upon, because they were familiar already as Ovid had presented them in *Metamm.* viii. It is equally possible that Ovid, having the *Ciris* before him, enlarged on those parts which he did not find there.

The general view of G. may be thus stated. The first sketch of the *Ciris* was made shortly after the publication of the *Georgics* (four lines of which (i. 406-409) form the argument of the poem and are repeated in it word for word *Cir.* 538-541), i.e. in 30-29 B.C. Its author, at the time quite young and under the influence of Catullus and the imitators of the Alexandrian school, was diverted from his project and only resumed it in later life, perhaps when sixty years of age. What it may have lost in youthful fire, it has gained in finish and apt imitation of other and later poets, particularly Ovid. In form however it still retains the Alexandrian outline on which Catullus and Calvus constructed their epyllia, the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, and the Io: with an additional tendency to Lucretian reminiscences, natural to an author who had purposed, as he tells us (5 *sqq.*), a more ambitious poem of a philosophical or scientific, probably astronomical, character. His training shows itself pre-eminently Greek: he seems indeed to have fixed his residence in Athens, and to this are probably owing not only his frequent allusions to recognized Athenian customs and observances, e.g. the *navis Panathenaica* and *peplum* embroidered with the battle of the Giants, the *tétrtyes* used to fasten the hair (Thuc. i. 6), but the minute description of the coast-scenery in the neighbourhood, and the details about the founding or building of Megara. Hence also the number of Greek words, which G. estimates as 146 in a total of 1360, an average exceeding Catullus,

many of them not proper names, *psalterium*, *storax*, *thallus*, *sophia*, *haliaetos*, *oestrus*. In estimating the merits of the poem, G. is inclined to side rather with the depreciatory side. It is, as has often been observed, in an extraordinary manner a cento: the vast array of parallels now collected does not seem to me to add much to this at once obtrusive and palpable note of inferiority. It abounds, too, in parentheses and repetitions, sometimes, no doubt, purposely introduced to give a rhetorical effect, more often from imperfect command of poetical technic. G.'s lists here are curious and very interesting in comparison with Catullus' sixty-fourth poem, which is open to the same criticism. My own inclination is to rank the *Ciris* higher than G. would admit: especially the speeches of the Nurse are well conceived and the suggestion of Scylla's real object in her mysterious visit to Nisus' bed-chamber is conveyed in language which recalls Ovid without his indecency. It is a pity that we cannot compare here Cinna's *Smyrna* with the *Ciris*: but from Martial's epigram it seems to have been doomed early to extinction; yet we may feel certain from Catullus' high-flown eulogy, as well as from the fine fragments which have survived, that Cinna had poured all the resources of a lavish art into his portrayal of Myrrha's incestuous passion.

Much is to be learnt from the metrical details which form another section of Ganzenmüller's dissertation. I cannot but agree with him in his disparagement of Drobisch's and Lederer's statistics; in contrast with these mechanical appraisers of poetry, all that G. has put together as to the characteristics of the *Ciris*, looked at as a new experiment in hexameter, is sound, judicious, and convincing. There are however points on which he is silent, and to which I hope again to return.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

SCHLEE'S SCHOLIA TERENCEANA.

Scholia Terentiana. Collegit et disposuit
FRID. SCHLEE. Leipzig: 1893. Teubner.
184 pp.

THIS is an attempt to place within convenient reach of Terentian scholars all that are valuable of the scholia existing in manuscripts other than the Bembinæ; and to

establish the antiquity and importance of these scholia, in opposition to the adverse judgment of Umpfenbach in *Hermes* ii. 338—a judgment that now for the first time is shown to have had little foundation in fact. Indeed, since the year 1867, when Umpfenbach edited the Bembinæ scholia in the journal already named, the scholia of the

other MSS. have in general been regarded as unworthy of particular study, no one thinking it worth his while to test the accuracy of Umpfenbach's unfavourable verdict.

The test has at last been made by Frid. Schlee, with the result that the value of a large portion of the other Terentian scholia is established as equal, or nearly so, to that of the scholia of the codex Bembinus; and the importance of the lemmata of the codex Monacensis is for the first time brought to light.

The editor has made special use of the following codices: Victorianus (D), Decurtatus (G), Vaticanus (C), Riccardianus (E), and Monacensis (M), the last the oldest of the MSS. containing lemmata, and assigned by Halm to the eleventh century. The lemmata referred to are of considerable length, and fairly numerous, and since they are evidently derived from an ancient codex of the D family, are considered to be deserving of publication, especially as the MSS. of this family are more or less in a mutilated condition.

As a basis for what is to follow the editor begins his book with a discussion of the Calliopian recension, pp. 1-11. Students are familiar with the threefold classification of the Terentian codices, attributed to Umpfenbach. The codex Bembinus (A) constitutes in itself class I. To class II. belong the codices Victorianus (D), Decurtatus (G), and Fragmentum Vindobonense (V). This is the D family. Class III. contains the Parisinus (P), Vaticanus (C), Basilicanus (B), Ambrosianus (F), and Riccardianus (E). These are known as the P family. The most ancient of all these MSS. is the Bembinus. It is also the most trustworthy, because it is the only one certainly free from the arbitrary alterations of the unknown grammarian Calliopius. Which of the other two families is more strictly representative of the original Calliopian recension is a question concerning which there still exists considerable doubt, notwithstanding many efforts have been made to solve the problem. All that has been positively ascertained is that each family has suffered, to a greater or less degree, from the correcting hand of a commentator of the fourth or fifth century, whose name was probably Calliopius.

In Umpfenbach's opinion the Parisinus (P) and Vaticanus (C) exhibit the Calliopian corrections and alterations more faithfully than do the Victorianus (D) and the Decurtatus (G). Frid. Leo ('die Ueberlieferungs-

geschichte des Terenz,' *Rh. Mus.* 1883) finds the original recension preserved in DG, while in PC he discovers the same recension revised and changed by some writer who failed to subscribe his name. Dziatzko (*Comment. Woelfflin.* Lips. 1891) concludes that Calliopius, about the fifth century, produced an edition of Terence in which he had made many violent and arbitrary alterations, both verbal and metrical, and that this edition is now represented by the codices PC; that this edition gradually acquired such importance and authority that many of its readings crept into the vulgar text, and that the vulgar text, thus corrupted, is to be seen in a more or less genuine form in the codices D and G; and, further, that the similarity now traceable between these two classes of MSS. is due not so much to the readings which have passed from the family of PC into that of DG, as to those which belonged originally to the accepted text, and have remained common to the two families in spite of subsequent alterations.

It will be noticed that Leo's view attaches the name of Calliopius to the DG recension, while Umpfenbach and Dziatzko give it to the recension of which PC are the exponents. But the question, says Schlee, to which of the two the name more properly belongs is of slight consequence, so far as the constitution of the text is concerned. A more important point is the relative antiquity of the two recensions,—a matter regarding which both Leo and Dziatzko are in substantial accord and one that has been ably treated by Schlee. The latter is at pains to show that DG are descended from an archetype older than that of PC, while each family springs ultimately from the same recension—a recension believed to have been in common use in the third or fourth century of our era.

In short, our editor reaches a conclusion in all essentials the same as that arrived at by Dziatzko, and differing from that of Leo in regard merely to the name of the author of the later recension (= PC). From the third century to the fifth there existed, besides the Bembine, a second recension in common use. The MSS. of this recension, being circulated in the schools, gradually became burdened with scholia, and often, to save space, were written without due attention to the metres. In the fifth century Calliopius made his recension from a MS. of this class, and in doing so introduced many metrical corrections, omitted not a few of the scholia, added marginal

illustrations from an earlier MS., and altered the text (= PC). This recension acquired considerable authority. But the other MSS. also, which had been supplied with scholia for use in the schools, were passed from hand to hand, and frequently copied, and in this way became more and more similar (= DG) to the Calliopian recension. DG therefore are derived from a recension older than the Calliopian, and according to Schlee are entitled to greater consideration, especially as Calliopius declined to adhere to his exemplar, but made changes in the text in harmony with his own peculiar fancies and prejudices.

But while DG may be of greater importance than other MSS., wherever the question of the scholia is to be considered, it is improbable that they are so important to the constitution of the text as Schlee appears to maintain. Indeed there is evidence that our editor, like others before him, has underrated the value of PC in this regard. A discussion of this point in detail would be out of place here; but the reader is referred to an article of the relative value of the MSS. of Terence by Prof. E. M. Pease in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1887, vol. xviii. (see also my edition of the *Adelphoe*, pp. li. and lii., Macmillan & Co.), in which the writer proves at length that, next to the Bembinus, the Parisinus is the most trustworthy of the MSS., and that, while the original form of the Calliopian recension is to be sought in DG, yet PC represent by their archetype an edition of the Calliopian recension, worked over, illustrated and arranged according to a MS. sprung from the best period; that PC are more closely bound together and have suffered less from errors creeping into the individual MSS. than DG, and that in general more changes have been made in the archetype of the D family than in the archetype of the P family. The similarity of these conclusions to those of Leo will be readily observed.

The theory that Calliopius is only another name for Alcuin, the celebrated Anglo-Saxon scholar of the time of Charlemagne, has lately been revived by Gutjahr (*Act. Reg. Soc. Litt. Sax.* 1892), but is rejected by Schlee.

The second paragraph, pp. 11-17, estimates the value to be attached to the scholia handed down by the codex Monacensis (M). In *Hermes*, vol. ii. p. 388, Umpfenbach says: 'Kaum auf ein ursprüngliches corpus gehen die Trivial-

scholien zurück, die sich in gleicher oder sehr ähnlicher Fassung in den Handschriften seit dem ix.—x. Jahrhundert, nur bald vermehrt, bald vermindert, finden und ihren Ursprung aus halbbarbarischer Zeit nicht verleugnen. Die undankbare Mühe, sie zusammen zu schreiben, hat sich ein Namenloser zu Verona im xi. Jahrhundert gegeben. Die Frucht seines Fleisses ist die Münchener Handschrift 14420 = M.' To this our editor replies: *haec fere omnia prava sunt*; for, as he explains, the writer of M was not the first to collect the materials (lemmata and scholia) of which the commentary is composed. He merely made a copy of a commentary already in existence, as may be proved from an examination of the lemmata themselves. Nor was M made from any one or more of the MSS. as they now appear. A comparison of the *subscriptions* and *indices* of this and other codices indicates that M, while not derived immediately from G, must have proceeded from some MS. of the DG family very closely related to G; and its lemmata are the more valuable for the reason that they supply much of what is lacking in the codex Decurtatus, a MS. now in great part destroyed. Hence just so many of the lemmata are printed on pp. 17-34 as, in the judgment of our editor, are useful in determining the text, or otherwise important to a correct valuation of the codex itself.

The fourth paragraph, pp. 34-37, reviews those particular points on which the authority and importance of the Monacensis are believed to rest: (1) This codex confirms certain good readings which, on account of the discrepancies between the MSS., were previously doubtful; (2) it establishes the correctness of certain ancient forms; (3) it agrees in some particulars with the codex Bembinus, against the testimony of the other MSS.; (4) it adds weight occasionally to recent conjectures; (5) it frees the text from a number of superfluous readings which are found in all the MSS.—both the later ones, and even the Bembinus; (6) it helps to restore the ancient reading of the DG family in many places where the true reading has been altered through the influence of PC; (7) finally the lemmata of this codex lend confirmation to the theory that the Riccardianus (E) and the Ambrosianus (F) belong, not to the PC, but to the DG family—a matter regarding which there has been some difference of opinion.

According to the fifth paragraph, pp.

37—39, the scholia in DGEFPC and M fall into three groups. The first group consists chiefly of extracts from Servius and Priscian, which occur only in DGE, and are written in the margin. They are by the same hand as the words of the text, or at least by one that is not later. The second group embraces many more scholia than the first, which consists for the most part of brief glosses; each scene begins however with a so-called *explanatio praeambula*, indicating the characters about to be introduced, and explaining how the scenes are connected one with another. These scholia are more perfectly preserved in M than elsewhere; they appear however also in DGEFPC. In PC they are added by a later hand; in the rest they are by the same hand as the text itself. The scholia of the third group are only fragments of what was once a much fuller commentary, and are found in the last pages of D and G.

The sixth paragraph, pp. 39—42, deals exclusively with the first group of scholia. Here the editor explains that certain scholia taken from Donatus, Eugraphius, Festus, Porphyrius, and Isidorus, are to be reckoned in the same category with those of Priscian and Servius; and that all these are to be distinguished from the remainder of the great body of the scholia, and are to be esteemed as of primary importance on account of their antiquity and fulness. The scholia of the first group are printed on pp. 53—78; those of Servius and Priscian being given on pp. 53—67, those of Donatus on pp. 67—75, those of Eugraphius on pp. 75 and 76, and the rest, together with those of an unknown scholiast, on pp. 76—78.

A. Funck, in his review of this work in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, Oct. 28, 1893, suggests a comparison of the scholia of Donatus with the commentary that passes under his name, and remarks that the commentary is fuller and more to the point. Only occasionally, he says, do the scholia add anything new, as e.g. on *Phorm.* ii. 2, 24, where a citation from Juvenal, i. 135, is given in illustration of the use of *rex=patronus*.

The seventh paragraph, pp. 42—48, discusses the second group of scholia. These are taken from M, and are here printed for the first time—on pp. 79—162. Owing however to the frequent repetitions and unnecessary fulness which characterize the group, the editor has omitted a good deal of what, after due deliberation, has appeared to him to be superfluous. The scholia are by an unknown hand, distin-

guished for convenience as *Commentarius Antiquior*. At the top of the first page of G are to be found the letters: COMMENTARIII OOPEIVS. The letters OO are uncertain. That Calliopius is not intended there can be little doubt. Woefflin (*Arch.* viii. 419 sq.) hints that the reference may be to the grammarian Pompeius who wrote a *Commentum Artis Donati* about the close of the fifth century. To this group of scholia was originally prefixed a *Vita Terenti*. The life however has not been fully preserved in any of the MSS., owing, in some instances, to the loss of the original first page, as in the case of D and G; in another instance, that of C, to the obliteration of the life by a scribe who wished to make way for other scholia.

As the unknown scholiast has nowhere mentioned any of his authorities, it is difficult to determine the sources from which the scholia of the second group have been drawn. Our editor however thinks he has detected points of contact with Festus, Isidorus, Eugraphius, Donatus, and the scholia of the codex Bembinus. He traces certain agreement also between the glosses of this group and those of the *Corpus Glossariorum*. A list of glosses is given on pp. 45—47, with references to the plays in a parallel column. It is probable, says Schlee, that the scholia of this group accumulated by degrees from various sources—the writings of grammarians, commentators, glossatores, etc.,—and that accordingly they were penned by different hands; but that the *praeambulae explanationes* prefixed to the scenes were the work of a single scribe,—a fact indicated by the character of their diction. These scholia in question are chiefly valuable for the elucidation of the text of the codices Victorianus and Decurtatus, since in this family they appear as given by the first hand, and are better preserved than in the Parisinus and Vaticanus.

The eighth paragraph, p. 49, gives a brief account of the third group of scholia, of which a specimen taken from codices Barbarinus, Riccardianus, and Victorianus is printed at the close of the volumes, on pp. 163—174. These scholia are in the form of a continuous commentary, and are later than the eleventh century. Their purpose is similar to that of the preceding group, except that they bear upon the meaning of sentences as a whole, rather than upon the peculiar significance of single words. The first part of the commentary

contains a brief life of the poet which, being taken from Orosius iv. 19, falls into the error of confusing the name of the dramatist with that of Q. Terentius Culleo, the Senator (Liv. xxx. 45). Following the life is a treatise in comedy, taken principally from Euanthius, and enriched with quotations from Horace and Juvenal. Then follow a commentary on the prologue to the *Andria* and a summary of the plot; after which come certain *explanationes praeambulae* which outline individual scenes in the play, and enlighten the reader as to the characters that appear in them.

Our editor finally felicitates himself on having worked in an unknown field, for, as he has already remarked, the scholia which he edits have been looked upon as of slight importance—the work of the unlearned of the Middle Age. The ground for this unfavourable judgment he claims to have removed. Terence, he says, was studied by school children in the very earliest times (cf. Sid. Ap. *Ep.* iv. 12), and his diction could not have been properly understood without assistance. The commentary of Donatus was of too learned a character to be suited to boys, for whose use editions with brief notes or glosses were better adapted. In one of these school editions,

he repeats, the codices known as the Victorianus and Decurtatus had their origin, and the scholia are derived from a similar source.

That this collection, so well edited, of Terentian scholia will be generally helpful to students of Latin comedy, and of special service in settling difficulties in criticism and interpretation, no one need doubt. We have only to regret, in company with the writer of the review in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, that the editor has not added to this most praiseworthy edition both the commentary of Donatus and the scholia of the codex Bembinus. The former is at present accessible only in such early editions of the poet as those of Lindenbrog, Klotz, Westerhovius, and Stallbaum. The latter must be sought in the special articles of Umpfenbach in *Hermes* ii. and Studemund in *Neue Jahrb.* 97. To combine these four available sources of early Terentian criticism in one convenient volume would greatly facilitate the labours of modern scholars, and would be an undertaking worthy of the special experience and critical skill of the editor of the *Scholia Terentiana*.

SIDNEY G. ASHMORE.

Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

HÜBNER'S *MONUMENTA LINGUAE IBERICAE*.

Monumenta Linguae Ibericae edidit AEMI-
LIUS HÜBNER. 4to. pp. cxlii. 264. Berlin,
Reimer, 1893.

At the request of the editor of the *Classical Review* I submit to its readers a very brief description of the last and not the least noteworthy outgrowth of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Its unique importance and interest would demand in justice a far fuller notice than, unhappily, I can at present attempt to give.

The lingua Iberica is that of the primitive inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula, the people, that is, who were there before Phoenicians, Greeks, Celts or Romans. Its remains are now collected, practically for the first time, by the great epigraphist who edited the Spanish volumes of the *C.I.L.*, Emil Hübnér. The courage needed to undertake such a task is matched by the scrupulous care with which it has been executed, though neither is new in the army of scholars whom Mommsen has inspired; and it is not to be counted the least of their

triumphs to have rescued from the dust what must be by far the largest articulate record of pre-Aryan Europe.

In Hübnér's numbering the volume contains some seventy-six inscriptions, five or six of which are of some length (containing from fifty to a hundred and fifty letters), besides coins from nearly 200 towns, each of which shows several different species and legends. The types of these are described, not reproduced, but of the inscriptions in the narrower sense facsimiles are frequently given. In all points of method the editor follows the lines which the *C.I.L.* has once for all established, fulness and definiteness of all certain information bearing on the text of the inscriptions, combined with a jealous repression of merely conjectural matter. All the inscriptions are transcribed into italics, and those given in facsimile are represented also in black and white in Iberian $\alpha\beta$. But in two respects the plan of the book goes beyond that of the *Corpus*. Its admirable indices include all the ancient local and personal names of Iberian territory, taken

either from *C.I.L.* ii. or from literary sources—an invaluable complement to the inscriptions themselves. Similar collections for the whole of Europe—the materials for which no doubt exist in some form or other in all its parts—would be a laborious but a most welcome contribution to primitive history. Secondly, in a long and masterly introduction, the editor has collected what may be said to be known about the Iberians, their alphabet, and their language (including some fifteen good glosses), and by his careful lists of forms classified according to their endings and other phonetic characteristics he has at least laid the foundation of a scientific study of this *terra incognita*.

How much has yet to be done, and how scrupulous the present editor has been the reader may judge from the fact that, so far as I can find, he does not confess to even an inkling of the meaning of more than some half-a-dozen words. The longest of the inscriptions is the bronze tablet found at Castellon (on the east coast south of the mouth of the Ebro) in 1851 and now in the Museum at Madrid, which contains a hundred and fifty-three letters. But, though abstaining from interpretation, Hübner has come to a conclusion as to the character of the language, based on its phonetic characteristics, namely that it is *not* Indo-European. 'Linguam apparet secutam esse leges formationis et flexionis diversas non tantum a Graecis Latinisque, sed etiam ab eorum populorum quos Iberis aliquando vicinos fuisse scimus, quatenus de linguis eorum iudicare licet; Venetos dico, Ligures, Etruscos, Celtas' (p. cxli.), and he points out that this was the belief of Humboldt (the one illustrious name in the scanty list of Iberian students), and he goes on to quote with sympathy rather than definite approval the same scholar's conjecture that the modern representatives of the Iberians in race and language were no other than the Basques. But he refuses at present to appeal to Basque words or forms as a means of interpretation. For this there are two unassailable reasons: first, that the only sound method of interpreting an unknown language is to begin by working simply at the monuments of the language itself with whatsoever light their surroundings and mutual relations can shed upon it;¹ and, secondly, that there is as yet no satisfactory grammar of the Basque language. Will Professor Rhys help us here? It

¹ I should perhaps explain that this is not a quotation of Hübner's own words, but only an inference from the method he actually pursues.

should be added that Hübner follows Kiepert's treatment of the Celtic invasion (*Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1864, p. 143, and *Lehrbuch d. alt. Geogr.* p. 478-498) and carefully eliminates place and personal names of Celtic origin.

The Iberian alphabet or rather alphabets, for the signs vary considerably in Hither and Further Spain, are derived directly from the Phoenician, as appears clearly in the tables on pp. liv. lvi. It may be useful to reproduce the shorter of these; *b* is wanting, and in Hither Spain the direction is mainly from left to right, in Further always right to left.

Value.	Phoenician.	Further Spain.	Hither Spain.
<i>a</i>	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂
<i>c</i>	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅
<i>d</i>	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈
<i>e</i>	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋
<i>z</i>	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎
<i>h</i>	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑
<i>th</i>	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔
<i>i</i>	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗
<i>k</i>	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚
<i>l</i>	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝
<i>m</i>	𐤞	𐤟	𐤠
<i>n</i>	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
<i>o</i>	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦
<i>p</i>	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩
<i>q</i>	𐤫	𐤬	𐤭
<i>r</i>	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱
<i>s</i>	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵
<i>š</i>	𐤷	𐤸	𐤹
<i>t</i>	𐤻	𐤼	𐤽
<i>u</i>	𐤿	𐆀	𐆁

Further there are five signs not borrowed from the Phoenician *αβ*, but 'exemplo Romano':

𐆂	<i>g</i>
𐆃	<i>γ</i>
𐆄	<i>ca</i>
𐆅	<i>ce</i>
𐆆	<i>du</i>

Hitherto the value of ϵ , μ , and ζ has been uncertain, of Δ , τ , and \aleph (a variant of κ , k) unknown. In a few points, I may add, these $\alpha\beta$'s resemble those of the enigmatic pre-Italic inscriptions of the Adriatic coast.

As to date, the coins range roughly from 241-133 B.C., the inscriptions 'probably' from the Hannibalic war to the fall of the republic, the latest being in Latin $\alpha\beta$. But, naturally, there are very few, if any, of the inscriptions whose date in particular can be fixed.

For curiosity's sake may be given Hübner's transcription of the *Tabula Castellonensis* (the words are separated by a triple interpunct, but after the last it is only double).

[ζ] *irtains airieimth sinektn urcecerere aurunikicaiasthkiceaie ecaru aduniu kduei ithsm eosu shsinpuru krkrhniu qshiu ithgm*

kricarsense ullthraicase argteo aicag ilcepu-raies iithsiniecarse.

If the transcription is correct it would seem that some vowel sounds must be unwritten in the heavy consonant groups; and one cannot help asking, Were the Iberians quite innocent of sonant nasals and liquids?

Unless one is prepared to become a serious student of Iberian, all criticism must be more or less nugatory. Yet perhaps it may be asked whether Hübner's negative conclusions as to the character of the language can be called 'proved,' at least so far as they are based, as they seem to be in chief, merely on its phonetic characteristics. Does the foregoing inscription strike the average scholar as more outlandish than would an extract of similar length from, say, Armenian, Old Church Slavonic, or even Old High German?

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, June 1894.

BOLDERMAN'S *STUDIA LUCIANEA*.

Studia Lucianea. Specimen Litt. Inaug. Scripsit P. M. BOLDERMAN. Lugd. Bat. 1893.

THE original purpose of the writer in undertaking the study of Lucian was to discover quotations from Attic Comedy. So far as this definite purpose is concerned his conclusions are negative: not only are no new comic fragments to be found in Lucian but the number of references to comedy assumed by Kock and others is to be materially reduced. The tendency to find satire, evident or concealed, in all the works of Lucian and to reject as spurious those in which no satire can be found, together with the failure sufficiently to take into account the changes in the character of his works incident to changes of age or purpose in writing, constitute the principal defects of previous studies of Lucian. The positive results of the comparison with comedy are that Lucian's works are to be divided into these four classes:

I. The Rhetorical works in which, with the exception of the *Toxaris*, no comic influence is traceable.

II. Dialogues in which the matter or method is comic.

III. Satires in which contemporaries and their faults are rebuked, but without evi-

dence of imitation of comedy except in three cases.

IV. The works of Lucian's old age,—rhetorical declamations in which the comic element is also lacking.

These classifications of his works correspond to periods in the life of the author. From the *Somnium* and *Bis Accusatus* we learn that he studied and practised rhetoric in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy until his fortieth year, then turned to Dialogues in the style of the comic writers and Menippus. In this style he continued until the *Piscator* in which, himself turned philosopher, he attempts to retract his former abuse of the old philosophers and promises to satirize his contemporaries. This period of his life and style, to which belong the satirical *Fugitivi*, *Philopseudes*, and *Convivium*, lasted until his old age, when he was forced by poverty to ask for an official position from the Prefect of Alexandria. After the loss of office he was compelled to support himself by returning to the practice of rhetoric.

In discussing the date of Lucian's birth, Bolderman defends the accuracy of the notice in Suidas ($\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \rho\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\ \rho\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$) against the usually accepted 125 A.D. The *Mors Peregrini* was written in 165 and in it he says that at the age of forty he turned from rhetoric to his

comic and Menippean style, but Bolderman urges that he did not necessarily write the *Mors Peregrini* at that time, but ten years later, when fifty years old, and during these ten years he wrote in the comic and Menippean style. This places his birth at 115 and gives as approximate dates for the four periods of his writings:

I. The Rhetorical, 115—55.

II. Comic and Menippean, 155—65.

III. Censorious of his contemporaries, 165—80.

IV. Old Age, 180 till death.

To the discussion of each of these periods of his life and style a chapter of the *Studia* is devoted.

The artificial and romantic tendencies which characterized the writings of the rhetors and sophists of the age of the Antonines exerted a strong influence upon the first, or rhetorical period of Lucian's life, the works of which were not the expression of his own sentiments but were composed to meet the taste and demands of the audience. To this purely declamatory time and class belongs the *Patriae laus*, which is not to be considered with Wieland and Jacobs, 'eine reife und edle Frucht seiner spätern Jahre, mehr ein Werk des Herzens als des Witzes.' The *De balneo* and *De domo* were also written from interested (mercenary) motives and neither in them nor in the *De salutatione* is to be sought the overworked *satira latens*. On account of its rhetorical character Bolderman discusses in this connection the *Imagines*. The explanation of ὁμώνυμος γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀβραδίδα ἐκείνῃ τῇ καλῇ (X) as a reference to the Panthea who accompanied Lucius Verus to the Parthian War and the conclusion that the *Imagines* was therefore written in 162 to win the favour of that emperor certainly seem probable.

The *Anacharsis* and *Toxaris*, though belonging to the rhetorical age, give evidence of a comical or satirical spirit sufficient to justify the assumption that they belonged to the transition from the first to the second period.

The third division of this chapter deals with Kock's attempts to restore fragments of comedy by assuming common comic sources for Lucian and Alciphron. Bolderman thinks that Kock carries this method to extremes in that he too readily finds comedy where similarity of words, subject matter, or expression may be purely accidental or proverbial. Very likely some of Kock's restorations have not sufficient reason, but to urge that because many of

his assumptions are false others probably are, is perhaps quite as dangerous as to have too much faith, and some fragments which Bolderman attacks seem too reasonable to be lightly given up.

After calling attention to the diversity of opinion hitherto prevailing among scholars as to the chronological order of the dialogues, Bolderman proceeds to discuss the place of the *Piscator* and *Bis accusatus* and concludes that the former, from its professional respect for the old philosophers and the announcement of the intention henceforth to attack the vices and pretences of contemporary would-be philosophers, marks the close of the second era of Lucian's life, during which he had bitterly attacked the ancient philosophers but after which he never depreciated them. The *Bis accusatus* from its milder tone toward contemporaries is to be placed just before the *Piscator*, while the *Fugitivi*, which is severer, follows immediately and in fact introduces the style of the third period. Accepting as correct this conclusion from philosophical content for the position of the *Bis accusatus* and *Piscator*, the next steps are easy. The *Dial. Mort.*, *Menipp.*, *Icaromen.*, *Charon*, *Jup. Trag.*, *Hermot.*, and *Vit. Auct.* are mentioned or referred to in the *Bis Acc.* or *Pisc.*, therefore precede them. To the other dialogues the test of Lucian's treatment of the old philosophers is to be applied and the works in which he abuses them precede the changed disposition evidenced in the *Bis Acc.* and *Piscator*. A still further subdivision of the works of this period is attempted, into (a) those attacking all philosophers without distinction and written under the influence of comedy, viz. *Dial. Mer.*, *Timon*, *Dial. D.*, *Dial. Mar.*, *de Parasito*, *Vit. Auct.*, *Deorum Conc.*, and *Prometheus*; (b) those which breathe a cynic spirit, the *Cronica*, *Dial. Mort.*, *Menippus*, *Hermot.*, *Jup. Confut.*, *Charon*, and *Navigium*; (c) those in which cynic philosophy is put in the mouths of comic characters, the *Jup. Trag.*, *Gallus*, *Tyrannus* and *Icaromen*.

It is difficult to find a place for the *Nigrinus* in this list if we are to accept it as literally meaning that Lucian was at one time a follower of Platonism. This objection Bolderman meets without resorting to the usual explanation, that Lucian was once for a brief period Platonist, or the *Nigrinus* contains *satira latens*, or is pseudo-Lucianic. The name *Nigrinus* and the introductory letters addressed to Nigrinus he considers sophistic fictions—the matter is cynic—the

manner comic. The *Nigrinus* then belongs to subdivision c.

The analysis of the *Timon* and the determination of comic sources for it, as well as for the *Prom.*, *Vit. Auct.*, and several of the *Dial. Mer.*, *Dial. Mar.*, and *Dial. Deorum* (p. 73 sqq.) form one of the strongest features of the *Studia*.

To adjust the *Vitarum Auctio* and *Hermotimus* to this antiphilosophic period of Lucian's life, it becomes necessary to explain sundry remarks favourable to philosophy found in them. This our author does by assuming that we have second editions of these works revised to suit the new position taken in the *Piscator*.

After Bolderman has so strongly insisted that the Dialogues are to be absolutely separated from the works which preceded the fortieth year and that Lucian entirely forswore rhetoric at that time, we are somewhat startled to read that the Dialogues, because they were composed by a rhetor who follows the example of comic writers, and because Lucian wrote the *Imagines*, which is also rhetorical, at a later date, are 'nihil nisi rhetoricae disciplinae specimina.' Well does Bolderman remark 'Multi statim exclamabunt: "Quid de satirico Luciano restat?"'

The third period of Lucian's life began, as already noticed, with the *Fugitivi*, in which he began to carry out the promise of the *Piscator*—to censure his depraved contemporaries. As regards his attitude towards Christianity, his writings do not show knowledge of the subject sufficient to warrant the assumption that he was bent upon persecuting the Christians, nor can the theory that he was a supporter of that faith be established in view of the few disparaging remarks. The *Philopatris* and its attack upon the Trinity Bolderman agrees with Gesner was not written by Lucian.

In this third period of his life he wrote the *Convivium*, *Philopseudes* and *Eunuchus* against the philosophy, and the *de Hist. Con.*, *Rhetor. Praec.*, *Lexiph.*, *Ver. Hist.*, and the *de Merc. Conductis* to attack the other vices, of his contemporaries.

From a discussion of Photius (*Bibl.* 129) and a comparison of the *Asinus* with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Bolderman concludes that both may have used Lucius Patrensis as a common source, but that Lucian was not writing a parody of Lucius but rather a simple fabella in the style of Lucius. The *Asinus* is therefore to be placed at the transition from age I. to II.

This question can of course never be settled definitely without the lost *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patrae.

The *Demonax*, written to praise the philosopher of that name, is vindicated as Lucian's work by assuming that the references to Sostratus in the preface were inserted by some one who tried thus to make Lucian responsible for a *Vita Sostrati* by another author.

The increasing sadness and moroseness successively exhibited by the *Adversus Indoctum*, *Pseudologistes*, *de Luctu* and *de Sacrificiis* give evidence of the approach and transition to the fourth age in which, compelled by poverty, he seeks public office for support. This abject office-seeking period produced the *Apologia* and *De Lapsu in salutando*. Failing in his political aspirations, Lucian returned to rhetorical declamation for a livelihood, but that his spirit was broken is seen in that the *Hercules*, *Bacchus* and *Dipsades* are much more insipid and cringing than the rhetorical work of his earlier years.

A paragraph in this chapter devoted to the supposititious writings attributed to Lucian acknowledges as such the *Amores*, *Haleyon*, *Nero*, *Demosth.*, *Encom.*, *Charidemus* and *Macrobius*, but defends the *Dea Syria* and *Astrologia*.

A *tabula chronologica* follows which groups the writings under the different ages and classes. An appendix contains an excellent bibliography of works on Lucian.

The propositions of the *Studia* are ingenious if the reasons are not always convincing. The arguments advanced cannot from the nature of the case be supported by many proofs; often they are little better than mere assertions. There is too much of an effort to differentiate in every case upon the basis of subjective analysis and, because a tendency appears stronger than another in a given work, to assign the work to an arbitrarily prepared place in the author's life.

Affected and monotypical as was the rhetoric of his time, one cannot help being reluctant to see in Lucian the typical rhetor. Lucian had innate satirical tendencies not wholly acquired from study and imitation, and the literature of comedy and satire may well have exerted stimulating influence upon his mind long before he was forty years old. May we not then be justified in expecting to find traces of both tendencies and influence in some of the works which Bolderman ascribes to the first age? Again, is it probable that Lucian's philosophical

tendencies came from Menippus and comedy alone? Is it not more probable that he or any other rhetor as such busied himself largely with the study of philosophy, the influence of which might thus be expected to operate upon the writings of the rhetorical or youthful age (40—50)? If so, the principle of division cannot be insisted upon between the first and second age. An author is not likely during his whole life to confine himself exclusively to one style of composition for a certain period and then turn abruptly to another, and the greater the number of subdivisions or changes assumed the greater the improbability and difficulty of proof. Should we then take even Lucian's references to himself too literally and should we not allow flexibility in his style varying at any period of his life according to his moods or to the nature and needs of his subject? These are some of

the doubts which the *Studia*, bold and captivating as they are, have failed to drive from the reviewer's mind. As to Bolderman's methods, one cannot help remarking that the assumption of interpolation and revised editions to substantiate a definite theory seems quite as radical as to argue along stylistic lines, or to deny Lucianic authorship or to search for fragments of comedy or *satira latens* in an author whose natural tendencies were those of Lucian.

But in spite of these misgivings the *Studia* form a valuable contribution to Lucianic literature. The Latinity is good except for a monotonously frequent repetition of *licet* when *quamquam* or some other construction might have been used.

A. L. FULLER.

Adelbert College,
Cleveland, Ohio.

HEBERDEY ON PAUSANIAS.

Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland;
von RUDOLF HEBERDEY: Vienna, Temp-
sky, 1894.

IN a review of Dr. A. Kalkmann's *Pausanias der Perieget* in the *Classical Review* for 1887 the wish was expressed that the imputations on Pausanias' veracity, which were made in that able but aggressive book, should be examined, and if possible refuted, in detail. Between that time and the present this wish has been to a considerable extent fulfilled—notably by Gurlitt in his valuable work *Ueber Pausanias*; nevertheless, the passages in the ancient topographer which imply personal observation on his part of the places and objects which he describes were nowhere systematically brought together—a strange omission, it might seem, because it is on these that the decision of the question mainly turns. This task has been accomplished by Heberdey in the dissertation now before us, so that every one has the opportunity of judging for himself, whether the claims which Pausanias thus puts forward to the position of an independent inquirer are genuine, or whether they are purely fictitious and intended to throw dust in the reader's eyes. The evidence furnished by these passages is either *direct*, where the writer says [that

he has been in a place, or *indirect*, where his presence is implied by the words used in the description. And here at starting Heberdey draws a distinction between such categorical statements as are introduced by εἶδον, ἀφικόμεν, θαύμα παρέσχε μοι and the like, and those which are made by λέγουσι, φασί, and even by ἐπυνθανόμεν and ἤκουσα. The expressions contained in the latter of these two groups, though by earlier critics they would have been regarded as proofs of personal inquiry, are now considered in many cases to be used where quotations from other treatises are spoken of. It is at first sight perhaps a shock to our modern notions of strict accuracy in the citation of evidence to find such ambiguous terms employed—somewhat in the same way as the English visitor to Italy is apt to regard it as a proof of a lower standard of morality, when he discovers that fixed prices for objects of sale are the exception and not the rule in that country: but in both these subjects a rigid estimate of such practices, independent of the view taken of them by those among whom they prevail, is apt to be unfair. Anyhow it is certain that the use of these words with regard to literary as well as oral sources of information is found not only in Pausanias, but also in other ancient writers whose veracity has

not been questioned. And, to show that they are employed *bona fide* by Pausanias, and not with the view of masking the origin of the statements, Heberdey cites a number of passages, where the various terms which are used in this way are undisguisedly employed with reference to earlier compilations. In like manner, though a class of *ἐξηγηταί* or local *cicerones* is known to have existed in the cities of Greece in Pausanias' time, and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that he may have obtained some of his information from them, yet Heberdey maintains that, when the term *ἐξηγητής* is used simply, and without further qualification, as an authority for statements, it is equivalent to 'local handbook' or 'guide.' Excluding, then, the passages in which these equivocal terms occur, we find that there are fifty-five instances, in which the words used (*ιδών* and such like), if they are not unqualified falsehoods, are direct statements of personal observation; and the great majority of these refer to places in Greece, though a few are employed of localities outside the borders of that country. Of the passages which afford indirect evidence of the same thing the most numerous are those in which there is a change from the present to the past tense; for, as the present is used in descriptions, it is reasonable to suppose that, when the historic tense is introduced, the writer is going back to his own experiences, whether in seeing objects or hearing narratives: e.g. 2. 34. 11, *τείχος μὲν δὴ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑρμιόνην ἔστηκε· τὰ δὲ ἐς συγγραφήν καὶ ἄλλα παρέχεται, καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνήμην*. At the same time due allowance has to be made for a certain number of passages, in which there is the possibility of a different interpretation of the tense. The total number of those that fall under this head is 150, and deducting thirty-nine as possibly doubtful, there remain 111 as certain evidence. The personal observation which is implied in these is in many cases further confirmed by other expressions which occur in the same context. The result of combining these two sources of evidence, the direct and the indirect, is to show that there were ninety-nine places in Greece which Pausanias is proved to have visited. Heberdey appends a table of these, arranged according to the different districts to which they belong.

Having thus determined the central points at which Pausanias' presence is guaranteed, our author proceeds to trace the course which he seems to have followed in

his archaeological journeys, and notes the roads which, to judge from his method of description, and from the objects mentioned or omitted in their neighbourhood, he did or did not take in passing from one place to another. He also in numerous instances assigns the reason why the traveller chose one of these in preference to another, by pointing out the objects of special interest which attracted him in this or that direction. For instance, in journeying from Sicyon to Phlius Pausanias does not appear to have followed the direct road, for he does not describe it, whereas he does carefully describe the more circuitous one by way of Titane; and his reason for preferring this is easily discoverable in the interest which he shows in the rites observed in the temple of Asclepius in that town. For this part of his investigation Heberdey is especially well equipped, because, as he tells us in his preface, he has himself on various occasions travelled over the same ground as Pausanias. He further draws attention to a principle, already noticed by Gurlitt, which the old topographer generally, though not universally, observes in his description of districts—viz. that he begins with the central city, and then describes the roads that radiate from it. This is especially noticeable in the case of Mantinea and Megalopolis, from the former of which towns four, from the latter five, divergent routes are traced. And it is suggested that it may be a farther extension of this method when, in giving an account of cities, he commences, not from the point at which he entered, but from the chief central place, whether agora or sanctuary, and then proceeds to the noticeable objects in other parts. Our confidence in the trustworthiness of Heberdey's conclusions is increased by finding that he fully allows that Pausanias frequently drew his information from other topographical works, and even introduced quotations from them. For various parts of the Peloponnese, and in a lesser degree for Northern Greece, he shows that he is largely indebted to a *Periplus*; for Elis also to a book on Homeric topography, perhaps that of Demetrius of Scepsis; and here and there evidence of quotation from local guidebooks is discovered in traits of local patriotism emerging from the narrative. Very interesting also are the passages where Pausanias corrects the statements of an earlier authority from his own observation; e.g. 8. 25. 7, *ὅσοι δὲ Θέμιδος καὶ οὐ Δῆμητρος τῆς Λουσίας τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι νομίζουσι, μάταια ἴστωσαν ὑπεληφότες*: and again 8. 41. 10, *ἔστι δὲ ὕδατος ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ*

Κωτιλίω πηγῇ, καὶ ὅπου συνέγραψεν ἤδη τις ἀπὸ ταύτης τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ρεύμα τῷ Λύμακι ἄρχεσθαι, συνέγραψεν οὔτε αὐτὸς θεασάμενος οὔτε ἀνδρὸς ἀκοὴν ἰδόντος· ἂ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω παρήσαν ἐμοί. Heberdey's general conclusion is, that in the Peloponnese Pausanias made three tours—one in the east and south of that country, one in the north, and a third in the centre; while in Northern Greece he made four journeys, but here the question of the routes which he took is more complicated. His First Book, which treats of Attica, was originally published as an independent work, and for this, outside

Athens, the author drew his information from another compilation, and only in a slight degree from personal observation. To enable the reader more easily to follow Pausanias in his travels, two maps are given at the end of the volume, on which his routes in the Peloponnese and in Northern Greece respectively are traced. In conclusion, it should be added that the usefulness of this excellent treatise is not confined to the subject with which it immediately deals, for it contains also numerous valuable discussions of the topography of special places in Greece.

H. F. TOZER.

SCHMIDT ON THE LETTERS OF CICERO.

Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero von seinem Prokonsulat in Cilicien bis zu Caesar's Ermordung, nebst einem Neudrucke des XII. und XIII. Buches der Briefe an Atticus, von OTTO EDUARD SCHMIDT. Leipzig: Teubner. 1893.

THIS work is indispensable for all students of the correspondence of Cicero. It is the result of untiring industry and patience, and is full of acute inferences, founded not only on the closest observation of minute points in the correspondence itself, but also on a deep and wide basis of learning and knowledge of the life and institutions of Ancient Rome. It is in the arrangement of the order of the letters that these qualities have proved most fruitful; in explanation of the text not so much, and in emendation hardly at all.

His accurate arrangement of the date of each letter sometimes starts difficulties before unfelt, while it oftener resolves problems which have presented themselves to the minds of the successive editors. Examples of the latter result are countless. As an instance of the former, we would point to *Att.* vii. 11, 5, which he shows to have been written on Jan. 18th from somewhere near Rome. Accordingly *haec Campana* in that letter cannot refer to Campania proper, and Schmidt is driven to infer that in Cicero's time *Campania* in ordinary language included the Campagna of Rome. However, as there is no example of such an application in Republican times, it is perhaps safer to understand *haec Campana* to mean 'the Campania on which my thoughts are now dwelling' as being

the district of Italy now placed by Pompey under Cicero's charge.

Schmidt brings out clearly a fact not thoroughly recognized in the histories of this period, that at the beginning of the Civil War the loyal *optimates* seem to have felt some apprehension lest an understanding should arise between Caesar and Pompey, the result of which would be the crushing of the senate; see *Att.* x. 8, 5. But his work teems with acute historical remarks, and the ingenuity with which he has arranged the order of the letters is amazing. For instance, he thus settles the date of *Att.* ix. 8. In § 2 Cicero says that the 'fever-day' of Atticus was 'yesterday'; now Atticus had fever every fourth day (the numbering being inclusive according to the Roman usage), and we know from *Att.* ix. 2 that he had had an attack on the 7th. But the letter must have been written after the 10th, therefore 'yesterday' was the 13th and the date of the letter is the 14th. The application of such principles to a body of literature so large as the letters demands a power of keeping the text of the correspondence exactly before the mind's eye with an accuracy which is little short of miraculous. This power is illustrated on almost every page of his book. His arguments hardly ever fail to carry conviction, and if they do not always establish an exact date, they nearly always bring it within a few days. It is clear that the task which he has set himself and has so ably discharged is one of very great importance and interest.

The questions concerning the diplomatic evidence on which the *Letters to Atticus* rest are not so numerous or so difficult as

those which beset the *codices* of the *Epp. ad Fam.*, though Lehmann has certainly shown that there are MSS. other than Zl and W which are independent of M. The problem would indeed be difficult if editors could be persuaded by Mendelssohn to re-open the question of the genuineness of the Bosian *codices*. Schmidt must be added to the list of those who have turned a deaf ear to the theory that Bosius really had access to two MSS., X and Y, which no one but himself ever saw, and from which he was in the habit of quoting readings which varied according as his own views about the emendation of certain passages underwent modification.

Whether one essays oneself the art of conjectural emendation or is merely an onlooker at the attempts of others in this branch of inquiry, one can hardly help noticing how every year increases one's conviction that the art of emendation has no

recognized principles, and that the criterion of certainty is merely subjective and varies with each observer. The emendations which one regards as certain are condemned or neglected, while some wild suggestion which one hesitated to print, and finally cast forth merely in default of any reasonable conjecture, is hailed as a discovery and almost an inspiration. One friend urges one not to publish a conjecture which another finds to be the only contribution to knowledge in the volume. I am quite prepared therefore to find that many readers will see the hand of Cicero in Schmidt's *in qua erat* (Caesar) *erus sceleris* in *Att.* ix. 18, 2, though to me *erus sceleris* seems the worst attempt which has yet been made to emend the *eroscleri* of the MSS. Yet Schmidt writes of his reading, 'Das Nachtsliegende und sicher Richtige aber hat man übersehen.'

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

The Gospel according to Peter. A Study.
By the author of *Supernatural Religion*.
London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.
6s.

Few literary discoveries, or recoveries, have excited more interest in modern times than that of the Fragment of the Petrine Gospel at Akhmim. And, to judge from the works of real importance dealing with it which have been published up to the present time, the interest which it first aroused is by no means slackened. From the lecture given by Prof. Robinson in Cambridge upon it in November 1892, which was published shortly afterwards, to the scholarly and laborious work of von Schubert published towards the end of 1893, probably the most important contribution to the literature of the subject hitherto published, there has been a continuous output of important editions, articles, and reviews. So much good work has thus been forthcoming, and such careful attention has been paid to this Gospel, that although many questions which are raised by it have received no certain answer, and many problems still remain unsolved, the net gain of what may now be regarded as settled beyond reasonable doubt is not inconsiderable.

The appearance of von Schubert's *Die*
NO. LXXII. VOL. VIII.

Composition des pseudo-petrinischen Evangelien-Fragments, and the accompanying Tables (which have been translated into English, and published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1893), and the important review of von Schubert's work by Harnack in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for Jan. 6, 1894, mark a definite stage in the discussion of the Petrine Gospel. This review contains Harnack's most recent judgment on the most important question connected with the Petrine Gospel, its relation to the Four Canonical Gospels, and is of great interest. He prefaces his review of von Schubert with a personal explanation of his own (partial) changes of opinion, showing how such changes were the natural consequence of the conditions under which he was obliged to work. When his second edition was published he saw reasons for doubting his earlier impression that the author of the Fragment was dependent upon the Four Canonical Gospels, though still feeling the weight of the reasons which rendered probable the view that he had used Mark, if not also Matthew, Luke and John. The work of von Schubert has convinced him of the 'probability that our Canonical Gospels, including St. John, underlie the Petrine Gospel.' 'Er hat es wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass unsere Kanonischen Evv. hinter dem

D D

PE liegen, auch das Joh. Ev.' are his exact words.

We may conclude then that, though much remains obscure, some points may now be regarded as practically settled, and it is unlikely that questions connected with them will be again reopened. Thus the anti-Jewish tendency of the Gospel is now beyond dispute, and its Docetic tendency is generally acknowledged, though the precise effect of these considerations on the determination of the sources used by the author is and will be still disputed. The probability also that the author used and mainly depended upon our Canonical Gospels is placed beyond question. This does not of course preclude the possibility of his having made use of other sources of information, oral or written, independent of them. But that he mainly relies (especially in the latter part of the Fragment) on our Four Gospels is the view which holds the field.

The book before us contains a short account of the Akhmim discovery, and a translation of the Petrine Gospel. This is followed by some account of the earliest traces of the Petrine Gospel which can be found in Christian literature of the second century. The main part of the book consists of a careful and elaborate comparison of the new fragment with the Canonical Gospels. A long chapter is devoted to the criticism of Mr. Rendel Harris's article in the *Contemporary Review* (Aug. 1893), and the 'highly evolved prophetic gnosis' which he claims to have discovered in Pseudo-Peter.

The writer finds in almost every case where the Petrine narrative touches parts recorded in the Four Gospels that Pseudo-Peter is independent of the Canonical Gospels and embodies the tradition at an early stage of legendary development, or produces scenes at least as grand and credible as those found in the Canonical Gospels. As a rule he prefers the Petrine account. As he avowedly approaches the questions raised by this Gospel from the stand-point of his book on 'Supernatural Religion' (see p. 20 f.) he can hardly come to his subject without prejudice. It is impossible to give any detailed criticism of his methods and results. The following instances of the results at which he arrives must suffice. The conduct of the Roman Procurator, as described by Pseudo-Peter, is pronounced to be historically far more probable than the 'extraordinary spectacle of a Roman Governor and Judge feebly ex-

postulating with a noisy Jewish mob' (p. 49) as recorded in the Canonical Gospels. 'There is every reason to consider' (on the ground of historical probability) 'that the betrayal by Judas is a later product of the evolved gnosis' (p. 104). 'The expressions of distinct antagonism to the Jews in the fourth Gospel far exceed any in the Gospel according to Peter' (p. 108). 'It is not difficult to see that the cleansing takes place because it is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye make it a den of robbers.' 'Peter has evidently got an earlier form of the story' (of the Penitent Thief) 'without those much later touches with which the third Synoptist has embellished it' (p. 64). It is unnecessary to make further extracts.

It is unfortunate that the author of the study before us was not in a position to make use of von Schubert's careful work and Harnack's review of it. As a popular summary of the subject, the book would have had more value if the writer had been able to take into consideration Harnack's latest judgment on the most important question which the author discusses. If it is to be regarded as a popular treatise it appears just too early or just too late to have much value. But as the general style and method of the book seem to claim recognition for it as a contribution to the scientific study of the questions with which it deals, it is necessary to point out the serious defects which it exhibits when regarded as a work laying claim to scholarship.

With at least four trustworthy English translations accessible the following novelties should have been avoided:—

(1) ὅτε ὄρθωσαν τὸν σταυρόν, ἐπέγραψαν κ.τ.λ. 'As they set up the cross, they wrote thereon.'

(2) πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν. 'Before the first day of the unleavened bread of their feast.'

(3) συμφέρεи γάρ, φασίν, ἡμῖν ὀφλῆσαι μεγίστην ἁμαρτίαν κ.τ.λ. 'For it is better, they said, to lay upon us the greatest sins.'

In conclusion it may be interesting to quote the author's present position with regard to the existence and contents of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. 'This is not the place to discuss again the identity of the supposed "Diatessaron," but it will be sufficient to point out that we have it only in an Arabic version, published and translated by Ciasca, and a translation of the supposed Armenian version of the Commentary upon it, ascribed to Ephraem, which again Moesinger, who

edited the Latin version published in 1876, declares to be *itself translated from the Syriac*. In these varied transformations of the text, anything like verbal accuracy must be regarded as totally lost.' (The italics are my own.) It would be rash to venture to interpret this passage!

As a popular treatise the book before us was written at an unfortunate moment, before a *consensus* of scholarly opinion had been reached. As a scholarly contribution to the literature of the subject it has really no claim to consideration at all,

A. E. BROOKE.

GROSVENOR HOPKINS ON THE *AGRICOLA* AND *GERMANIA* OF TACITUS.

Tacitus, the Agricola and Germania, edited on the basis of Draeger's 'Agricola' and Schweizer-Sidler's 'Germania', by A. GROSVENOR HOPKINS. Boston: Leach, Shewell and Sanborn, 1891.

FOLLOWING the general plan of the series to which this edition belongs Prof. Hopkins has adapted two well-known German school-books to the use of American students. The text is mainly that of Halm, whose critical apparatus appears in a modified form at the bottom of the page. A rather full introduction gives a sufficient account of Tacitus and his works, also of the MSS. of *Agricola* and *Germania*. On p. viii. there is a slight confusion between the arguments for the date of publication of the *Annals* and those for the death of Tacitus. Hadrian's resignation of Trajan's Parthian conquests has nothing to do with the time of Tacitus's death. To speak (*ibid.*) of 'that reign of bloodshed and horror which extended, with but slight interruptions, from the rise of Nero to the death of Domitian' is to give the student a very wrong idea of the twelve years of Vespasian and Titus. On p. vii. there is a similar carelessness of statement, which would throw doubt upon one of the few certain dates in Tacitus's life,—that of his praetorship; we are told that 'it is impossible to associate the bestowal of definite official honours with any of these emperors' (*i.e.* the Flavians). More serious is (p. xv.) 'the two most important MSS. of the *Agricola*' for 'the only two.'

The text is accurately printed, and provided with rubrics, which are not always quite reliable clues to the contents of the chapters. Thus cp. 1 'eulogies upon virtue'...are hardly *safe* even in the age of Trajan; cp. 6, *donata templorum* is paraphrased 'public funds'; 'probably from Gaul' (cp. 11) is certainly misleading.

In regard to the date of the *Agricola* Prof. Hopkins is still satisfied with the old arguments to prove that it was written shortly before the death of Nerva, rather

than after Trajan's accession [Mommsen, Nipperdey, Andresen]. Matters relating to the government of the provinces are clearly explained. Facts as to the legions in Britain (p. 90), the Rhine-Danube *limes* (p. 115), the walls of Hadrian and Antonine (pp. 104-5) are welcome additions to a commentary on the *Agricola*. But the note on the walls is so misplaced as to give a very confused idea of the location of Hadrian's wall. It begins 'Agricola built a line of forts here'; and 'here' can only refer to the Tanaus, the uncertain location of which is remarked upon just above. The statement that Hadrian utilized forts of *Agricola* is without authority.

The note on l. 3 *plerique* is misleading, but corrected by that on *Germ.* 13. 5. On 25. 5 'et ipse': only twice so found in Cicero' aims at greater precision than so controverted a question allows. The translation of 10. 5 *quia...iussu* 'for only so far had we orders' adds a new voyage to the conjectural travels of Tacitus.

We add a few misprints:—p. iii. Hirschfeld for Hirschfelder, Deutsche for Deutschen; p. viii. l. 2, A.D. 95 for 96: l. 22, 118 for 117; p. 16 fin. *lacunum*; p. 84 l. 1, *εἰρημενον*; p. 87 l. 23, A.D. 60 for 61: Caerlaon; p. 101 l. 19, *strategmata*; p. 103 fin. *in bella* for *bello* of text; p. iii. l. 13, A.D. 42 for 43.

In the 'Germany' the elaborate notes of Schweizer-Sidler have been of course much abridged. On the other hand additions have been made from Hehn, Waitz, Grimm, &c., and matters of language and style are much more fully treated of than in the German original. Space forbids a more detailed criticism.

The maps (2) are reproduced (without acknowledgement) from Mommsen's *Provinces* and Church and Brodribb's *Germania*. On the former the form 'Themse' survives unaltered. There is an index to the notes.

F. G. MOORE.

Dartmouth College, U.S.A.

ROBERT'S PHAEDRUS.

Les Fables de Phèdre. Edition paléographique, publiée d'après le manuscrit Rosanbo par ULYSSE ROBERT, Inspecteur général des manuscrits et archives etc. pp. xlvii. 188. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1894. 10 Frs.

THIS book, which is printed at the expense of the French Government, consists in the main of two copies of the *codex Pithoeanus*, which is almost the sole extant authority for the text of Phaedrus. The first copy is a most beautiful print of the MS. as it stands, page for page and line for line: red letters, capitals, points, abbreviations and corrections being faithfully reproduced. It would be impossible to praise too highly the typography of this portion. The second copy gives precisely the same text but printed as verse, with modern punctuation, without abbreviations and with many notes on the corrections and other minutiae of the MS. The editor has added a photographic facsimile of one page of the original, an introduction dealing with the *provenance*, character and affinities of the MS. and an appendix containing a mediaeval treatise 'De Monstris,' which (though of later date) is partly written on the same parchment, and is now bound in the same volume, with the text of Phaedrus.

The *codex Pithoeanus* is a small octavo of thirty-nine leaves, written in Caroline minuscules of the first half of the ninth century. The writing is large and clear, and the abbreviations are not numerous or obscure, though one or two of them are unusual. The style is believed by M. Robert to have been peculiar to Rheims in the time of Archbishop Hincmar. The MS. is complete though copied from a mutilated archetype, and has been revised both by the original scribe and by another, who sprinkled some stops at random. It came into the possession of Pierre Pithou, the famous French scholar, in 1595, and was used by him for the *editio princeps* which he published in August 1596. It was used again by N. Rigault for his edition of 1599, but, though more than one scholar collated it, no other editor actually handled it till G. Brotier, who published a Phaedrus in 1783. In 1830, Berger de Xivrey published what purported to be an accurate copy, *verbatim et literatim*, of the MS., with this difference only, that the

text was printed as verse, though the MS. gives it as prose. Lucian Müller, who had some doubts of de Xivrey's accuracy, was unable to induce the owner, the Marquis de Rosanbo, to let him collate the MS. for his edition of 1877, and M. Robert himself has evidently had some difficulty in gaining access to it. However, when at length he was allowed to copy it, he made the fullest use of the permission and has produced a transcript which is likely to relieve the Marquis from any further importunities of scholars.

After all, M. Robert would probably admit that not much, except a beautiful book, is gained by his labours. He convicts Berger de Xivrey of some gross blunders, but editors had already repaired them. He cites altogether 107 passages in which de Xivrey's copy of the MS. is inexact. Of these, fifty are mere mistakes in spelling, such as *senareis* for *senariis*, *inquit* for *inquit*, *immiscuit* for *inmiscuit*, *nunquam* for *numquam*, *pretio* for *precio*, *commendasse* for *cummendasse*, *impune* for *inpune*, etc., which are of little or no importance for critical purposes. In other passages the mistake of a letter or two is more serious: e.g. in i. 3, 9 de Xivrey prints *multatus* for MS. *mulcatus*: in ii. 7, 11 *contentum* for *contentum*: in iii. Prol. 6 *causae* for *causa est*: in iii. 1, 3 *spargent* for *spargeret*: in v. 1, 8 (or iv. 29, 8) *nil* for *ni*, but previous editors had either read the MS. correctly or made the necessary emendation. The worst blunders in de Xivrey's copy are these: in ii. Epil. 12 he gives *pervenit ad aures* for *ad aures pervenit*: in iii. Prol. 18 he inserts *ne* and in 52 *si* without warrant: in iv. 22 (or 23), 7 he omits *uoluit*: in v. 1, 1 (or iv. 29, 1) he inserts *est*: and he omits altogether the line v. 5, 25 (or iv. 33, 25). In some other cases M. Robert seems to me to do less than justice to his predecessor. Thus in i. 29, 7 de Xivrey reads *pene* where M. Robert reads *pede*. But de Xivrey adds this note 'recentius correctum *pede*...sed prior scriptura facile dignoscitur': and M. Robert himself adds this note 'le reviseur a corrigé *pene* en *pede*.' In iv. 5, 12 de Xivrey prints *conferant* with the note 'correctione mala librarius *conferunt*': M. Robert prints *conferunt* with the note 'le scribe a corrigé *conferant* en *conferunt*, correction dont M. Berger de Xivrey n'a pas tenu compte.' In cases of this kind, and there are several

of them, it seems unnecessary to impute error to the earlier editor. In one conspicuous instance, de Xivrey was wrong, though he provided the necessary correction. In iv. 7, 12 he reads *aetate*, adding the note 'recte Pithoeus *Aste*.' M. Robert reads *Aete* and adds the note 'le scribe avait d'abord écrit *etate*, mais il a expunctué *ta*.' M. Robert actually goes so far as to insinuate that de Xivrey sometimes misread the MS. on purpose that he might correct the mistake in a footnote. I can find no ground

for this suggestion except the passage ii. 7, 11 where de Xivrey reads *contentum* with the note 'sic pro *contentum*.' The shade of M. de Xivrey will be pleased to learn that, in the list of errors attributed to him, M. Robert has made at least two errors himself: he cites iii. Prol. 53 when he means 52, and iv. 5, 25 when he means 5, 12. Also in iii. Prol. 38 M. Robert twice prints *viam*, though he gives the note 'le scribe avait écrit *viā*; il a ajouté un *t*, pour faire *vitam*.'

J. Gow.

BURTON'S SYNTAX OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek. By ERNEST DE WITT BURTON, Professor in the University of Chicago. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Chicago, U.S.A. 1893. Pp. xxii. 215. 21 cm. by 14.

It is a good omen for the study of the Greek Testament that the characteristics of its language are beginning to engage afresh the attention of scholars. Since Germany gave us the preeminent grammars of Winer and Alexander Buttmann, comparatively little first-hand work in this department has been given to the public. The labours, indeed, of T. S. Green, Moulton and W. H. Simcox, together with such essays as those of Hatch and T. K. Abbott, have received grateful and merited recognition and it is a pleasure to welcome the simultaneous appearance of two elaborate works devoted to the syntax of the verb.¹

The author of a work on New Testament Greek is confronted at the outset by a grave practical difficulty. Shall he assume a general knowledge of the Greek language on the part of his reader, and restrict himself to the peculiarities of the Biblical writers? or shall he exhibit these peculiarities in perpetual comparison with ordinary secular usage? The former method is apt to produce a jejune and fragmentary result. And even when such a restricted treatment is furnished with a running equipment of references to the more noteworthy grammars of the classic tongue, it seems to find little favour, if we may judge by the comparative

neglect which the translation of Buttmann's excellent work has received from the public.

Professor Burton has probably been wise, therefore, in adopting the plan of giving a somewhat detailed account of the functions of the several verbal forms, with accompanying references to current grammatical works, and then subjoining in each case select examples from the New Testament. But his avowed aim throughout is merely to furnish an aid in interpretation. This aim has shaped and limited his treatment. His exposition of principles is in the main admirable. He evidently possesses a keen interest in grammatical analysis, and an undeniable gift at clear and succinct statement. His definitions are lucid and guarded, his discussions orderly, and their conclusions neatly summed up.

But while the decisive test of a text-book is actual use, the first impression, we must confess, made by Professor Burton's work is that the grammatical machinery is excessive. The simple syntax of the Greek Testament appears in a form a little suggestive of the rustic youth in the royal armour. Certainly the treatment is unequal. At one time, rudimentary principles are formally stated and illustrated as though for beginners; at another, extended quotations from erudite works are given in the original German (see, for example, p. 62). This disproportion in treatment, which results apparently from more regard for completeness of grammatical exposition than for the actual phenomena of the New Testament (see e.g. §§ 351—356), can be in some measure removed in future editions by giving greater prominence to the discussion of examples, after the fashions well exemplified in §§ 55,

¹ See, besides Professor Burton's book, the *Étude sur le Grec du Nouveau Testament. Le Verbe: Syntaxe des Propositions.* Par M. l'abbé Joseph Viteau. Paris, 1893. Pp. lxi. 240.

88. Nevertheless, the general tenor and tone of the book make the impression that the author has written in forgetfulness of the maxim—which holds almost as true of language as of history—that ‘nothing tortures it more than logic.’ Thought and expression are more varied and versatile than the theorist’s rules. Forgetfulness of this truth is also in large part responsible for the author’s restiveness under many of the renderings of the recent ‘Revision’ (see, for instance, p. viii. and § 17). Historical considerations and the genius of a language have their rights. Considered from this point of view his strictures will hardly command general assent. Moreover, excessive emphasis laid upon particular formulas of translation tends to foster in the pupil a mechanical habit of mind.

It would be easy to specify details the treatment of which is especially judicious and satisfactory (for example, the use of *εἰς* with the infin., of *ἵνα*, etc.); and possible, on the other hand, to cull out particulars respecting which Prof. Burton’s decision is more than questionable: as, Rom. ii. 27, p. 167. But, passing over details, the treatment of the participle is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the book. Considerable space, to be sure, is given to the subject, first and last, under the several tenses, especially the aorist. But after all, we doubt whether a student will get an adequate idea of the peculiarities of New Testament usage: for instance, the use of the participle in the nom. out of construction (as Mark xii. 40; Phil. iii. 19), and in mixed constructions (as Rev. vii. 9); of the present participle virtually denoting purpose (as Mark xiii. 11; Acts xxi. 2; 1 Cor. iv. 14); of the anomalous gen. absol. (as Matt. viii.

1, 5, 28; Luke xxii. 10; John iv. 51); of the anarthrous participle used substantively (as Mark i. 3; vi. 54; Rom. iii. 11 *sq.*; Rev. ii. 14), especially with *πᾶς* (as Matt. xiii. 19; Luke vi. 40)—none of which passages are cited in the book. Indeed, the distinction between a participle with the article after a definite antecedent and a participle without the article is nowhere drawn with sufficient sharpness:—witness the silence respecting such stock examples as Mark v. 30, 36; 1 Pet. ii. 19. Moreover, positive surprise will be stirred in the reader by the heading, in black-faced type, ‘The Aorist Participle of *Subsequent Action*,’ a surprise which will not abate when he finds the vouchers to consist of the dubious *ἀπαυρόμενοι* in Acts xxv. 13, and *ἡ ἀλείψασα* in John xi. 2, adduced on the ground that the fact of anointing is only first narrated in ch. xii. 3.

After all, however, the book as it stands is a scholarly and painstaking piece of work, and deserves to be welcomed as a valuable addition to the apparatus for the study of the New Testament. It is carefully indexed, and the typography is almost immaculate. The only slips which a pretty careful perusal has discovered are here set down: p. 12, l. 8, delete the comma after *ἴδε*; p. 21, l. 29, read *ὅν*; p. 23, l. 7, read *Ἡρώδης*; p. 110, l. 24, delete the comma after *δοθῆσεται*; p. 112, l. 6, insert *and winter*; *ibid.* l. 24, read *ὅ*; p. 158, l. 20, insert *τὰ* after *ἱπᾶς*; l. 172, l. 3, read *ἐξουσίαν*; *ibid.* l. 8, read *ὅν*; p. 173, l. 30, read *ἀγέ*; p. 180, l. 1, read *οὗτος*; p. 186, l. 6, read *οὗδε*; and on pp. 125, 165 a Greek word is divided wrongly at the end of a line.

J. HENRY THAYER.

Harvard University.

JUSATZ ON IRRATIONALITY OF RHYTHM.

De irrationalitate studia rhythmica. Scripsit HUGO JUSATZ. Leipziger Studien zur Classischen Philologie, vierzehnter Band, zweites Heft, pp. 175-351. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1893. 5 Mk.

THIS is an elaborate essay on a somewhat obscure and difficult subject. In the introductory portion, which deals with the sources of Greek rhythmical theory, it is argued that, while it is generally admitted that our knowledge of the principles of Greek rhythm

must be based on Aristoxenus, the views of modern writers, *e.g.* on the so-called ‘cyclic’ dactyl and on the equalization of dactyls and trochees etc. in ‘mixed’ metres, are incompatible with his doctrine. An attempt is made to prove that the lengthening and shortening of syllables, whereby their normal value is altered, is circumscribed within very narrow limits, so that the dactyl never occupies precisely the same space of time as the trochee. There are also some remarks about the relation between the fragments

of the rhythmical elements of Aristoxenus and the excerpts of Psellus, and it is affirmed that Martianus Capella is not directly dependent upon Aristides, as has been supposed, but that they are derived from a common source, and that the former sometimes represents the original better than the latter.

The second part of the treatise discusses the nature of 'irrationality' both in musical intervals and in rhythm. The general conclusion, so far as rhythm is concerned, is that a space of time is 'irrational' when its exact duration as compared with other definite spaces of time is not clearly perceptible. Thus, to take the commonest instance, the spondee found in the even feet of a trochaic rhythm is 'irrational,' i.e. the second syllable in the foot is slightly longer than the normal short syllable would be, though it cannot be determined how much longer it is. Jusatz supposes that in this and similar instances the additional length of the irrational syllable is compensated by a corresponding diminution in the length of the following syllable, so that the scansion of the trochaic dimeter catalectic might be represented thus:—

$$\overset{2}{\text{—}} \overset{1}{\text{—}} | \overset{2}{\text{—}} \overset{1+\pi}{\text{—}} | \overset{2-\pi}{\text{—}} \overset{1}{\text{—}} | \overset{2}{\text{—}} \wedge ||$$

where the numbers denote units of time, and π is the indeterminate quantity by which a syllable exceeds or falls short of the 'rational' duration.

In the third part, which is the longest and most important division of the essay, the position of irrational syllables in various metres is investigated, and certain laws regulating their use are laid down. The criteria of an irrational space of time are that it may be represented by either a long or a short syllable, that it can never be resolved into two syllables, and that in some cases the irrational arsis (in the ancient sense of the word) may not be separated

from the succeeding thesis by a caesura. This last point serves to explain Porson's law as to the final cretic, which, it is shown, may be applied also, *mutatis mutandis*, to metres other than the iambic senarius and the trochaic tetrameter. The subject of the various permissible feet and caesuras in these two metres is discussed with much subtlety and ingenuity. Another form of metre which is examined in detail is what Jusatz calls 'pseudo-logaoedic,' of which the glyconic may be taken as the most familiar type. It follows from the writer's general theory that he will have nothing to do with the 'cyclic' dactyl. To him, apparently, e.g. the second glyconic consists of two trochees followed by two iambs, the effect of the change from trochee to iambic being analogous to that of what is called 'anacalasis' in ionic metres, a subject which is also discussed at some length. The last chapters are concerned with irrational syllables which stand alone, not in combination with others, where therefore the irrational lengthening of one syllable is not compensated by the irrational shortening of another. This is chiefly the case in 'seazons,' in which the penultimate syllable is irrationally lengthened, the view that in such metres the ante-penultimate syllable is equal to a three-time foot being criticized and rejected.

Whatever may be thought of the rhythmical principles of the writer, which are certainly at variance with prevailing opinions, he has collected and sifted a considerable amount of material in reference to irrational syllables, and this will be useful to all students of metre, however different their exact interpretation of the forms in question may be. The reviewer must confess that he has found the argument hard to follow in some places, and that he has not been always able to make out the meaning.

C. B. HEBERDEN.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT MS OF LUCAN.

De Lucani codice Erlangensi. ARNOLD GENTHE. [Dissertation, Jena 1894.]

THE author of this little treatise is a son of the late Hermann Genthe, whose name is well known to students of Lucan. *Cogit pietas imponere finem officio.* The MS

described and collated is specially interesting from its connection with B, the *Bernensis* to which prominence was first given by Hosius in his recent edition.

The Erlangen MS is of the tenth century. So is B. Both MSS belong to the class known as the Pauline recension, but

neither has the *scriptio* found in M and certain other MSS. Dr. Genthe points out that another MS at Erlangen has the *scriptio*, but does not enter into this matter further. The *Erlangensis* described [No 304] is by two hands using the same original. The second of these wrote only the part viii 134-ix 146. The normal number of lines to a page is twenty-eight, but a few pages have twenty-nine. Dr. Genthe (pp. 13-4) ingeniously infers that twenty-eight was the number in the archetype also. Besides the corrections of the first hands [m¹], who are shown to have revised their work, three other sets of correctors [m², m³, m⁴] are clearly distinguished. Of these the earlier ones used either the same or a closely connected MS as their basis, while m⁴ draws from a different source, and probably employs conjecture as well. The clearness with which these various correctors are distinguished adds not a little to the value of the dissertation.

The derivation of E from the Pauline recension is clearly shown, and seems to admit no doubt. So also its peculiarly close relationship to B. Its relation to the mixed MSS, such as U and G, is also well discussed with much advantage. It appears that G is more nearly connected with BE

than with the other Paulines, and that G is nearer than U to BE. B and E themselves agree in a remarkable manner. Not only do they very often unite to differ from the other MSS, but in misplacement of lines and peculiar order of words they show a striking concurrence. It may be added that the first readings of B, altered in the MS, often stand unaltered in E. Dr. Genthe holds that B and E are copied from the same original, and that E is the better copy of the two. He adduces weighty reasons for believing that they are not copied from the original of M or from M itself. And he rejects,—rightly, I venture to think,—the view [Hosius, *praef.* p. xiv] that MB[C] may perhaps be directly derived from the original MS of Paulus. He allows that M may be a direct copy of Paulus: but the rest are derived from him in an indirect manner. In this he agrees with Wotke, and I believe this will become the received view.

To enter into details here would require far too much room. But I think I have said enough to show that an interesting and important addition to Lucan literature has been made by Dr. Arnold Genthe.

W. E. HEITLAND.

PRESTON AND DODGE'S *PRIVATE LIFE OF THE ROMANS*.

The Private Life of the Romans. By HARRIET WATERS PRESTON and LOUISE DODGE. Boston [1893]. Pp. 167. 12mo. Price \$1.00.

TEACHERS of Latin have long desired a small manual to illustrate Roman private life for their students, and this spirited and inspiring little book will be warmly received. Heretofore there has been practically nothing but the antiquated translation of Gallus, the translation of Guhl and Koner, which for various reasons was an inconvenient book, and the dictionaries which had the defects of their qualities. In this book we have a readable and interesting sketch of the subject. The six chapters describe first the family, then the house and everyday life, the children, slaves, guests, clients, freedmen, their food and clothing, agriculture, and finally travel, transportation, and amusements. Tables of weights and measures and an index conclude the

book. The treatment is sympathetic, and in a clear running style, enlivened also by comparison with modern Italian customs gathered from the personal observation of the authors. Some may think this is carried too far when *confarreatio* is compared with a 'Catholic wedding with pontifical high mass.' The materials of the book are drawn from Marquardt, Friedländer, and Becker-Güll; and many of the numerous woodcuts are credited to Rich, and a few to Baumeister and Seyffert-Nettleship. Some of the illustrations are not altogether good. In the 'process' view of the Roman House after Schill (p. 24) the names of the parts of the house are altogether illegible. The picture of the Roman Bath (p. 49), said to be from an ancient painting, dates back some three hundred years only, and has no more authenticity than any picture invented in modern times.

As a second edition of the book will undoubtedly be called for, it may be well to

call attention to a few matters *passim* which demand correction or at least reconsideration. Some statement of the principle followed in marking the long vowels of the Latin words should be made; and if, as it appears, the short vowels are left always unmarked, the reader should be put on his guard. In *sūcinum* on p. 149 the quantity of the penult is more important and harder to remember than that of the antepenult; *iūgum*, p. 111, is certainly wrong. In *manum suam* 'into his hand' for the *manus* of the husband is hardly good Latin: Gaius, l. 136, has 'in viri sui manu,' but it is safer to omit the pronoun altogether as may be seen by comparing the passages cited by Heumann, *röm. Rechtsquellen*⁶ 330. On p. 3 the derivation of Cicerones from 'chick-pea growers' is over-confident, as is also the statement on p. 5 that daughters had a *prænomen* of their own, which remark should be qualified by what is said in Seyffert-Nettleship, p. 412. Nothing is said by our authors about the custom of numbering daughters. The association of *quiratio* (p. 19) with the mortuary cry may be correct; yet as the word occurs but once (Livy 33. 28) we must interpret the noun by the verb *quirito* which was originally the cry for aid by the distressed citizen. The

'mortuary proclamation' could hardly have given the primary signification to the word. *Carmen necessarium* (Cic. *De Leg.* 2. 59) is hardly a 'species of hymn'; carmen might with more propriety be called a chant or rhythm. A modern analogue is the singing-recitation of the multiplication table by school children. In Tac. *Ann.* 4. 9, which describes the funeral procession of Drusus, the verb is *spectarentur*; to translate this 'walked' is scarcely justified (p. 20). English 'aes' for Latin *as* occurs twice on page 140; but the book is in general very free from misprints.

Those who have followed the *Atlantic Monthly* articles by H. W. P. and L. D. on various Roman worthies will find the same warm treatment, and freshness of style in this little book, which is doubtless more readable than it would have been if written by professed philologists or archaeologists. It is a work which may profitably be put into the hands of young students, and should find a place in all public libraries. It will be particularly valuable as a companion to courses of lectures in Roman private life, such as are given in several American universities.

W. A. MERRILL.

University of Indiana.

GSELL'S REIGN OF DOMITIAN.

Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Domitien
par STÉPHANE GSELL. (Paris: Thorin.)
8vo. pp. 392. 1894. 12 Frs.

THE account of Domitian's reign contained in this volume was originally written as a 'thèse de doctorat' for the Faculty of Letters of Paris. The author does not say whether it has been since revised or expanded, but for its original purpose I may say at once that it seems to me to possess just the merits which such a work should possess. The writers of such theses (we have them or something like them in England) seem to me to be liable to one of two errors. They are apt either to aim at the fabrication of epochs and the sonorous disclosure of sweeping novelties, or they painfully concentrate laborious attention on some possibly correcter view of an insignificant trifle. In either case, in the desire to be original, they reveal their inability to grasp the proportions of things and to master the matter which forms their sub-

ject. M. Gsell seems to me to have avoided these errors. He has given us a well-digested account of Domitian, with a careful collection of facts and authorities both ancient and modern, and an estimate of the man which, whether right or wrong, is sober and suitable. He shows that he is the master, not the servant, of his matter and that, when he tries original work, he will at least be able to start well equipped. For scholars his book will have the value that many good digests have at the present day: it is a convenient summary to which one may turn for a judicial account of what has been well said about Domitian. Its fault, of course, is its length—rather a common fault in some French books, but that is partly the result of its careful quotation of references and treatment of detail. Were it shorter, it would doubtless be more interesting to read, but it would be less useful as a summary.

F. H.

KRUMBACHER'S BYZANTINE PROVERBS.

Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter. Von KARL KRUMBACHER. München, 1893. Verlag der K. B. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Pp. 272. 1893. 3 Mk.

KRUMBACHER belongs to the new and more enthusiastic school of students of Byzantine history. In his *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* he has put himself on record as a believer in the intrinsic value of Byzantinism as a form of civilization. He refuses to compare it either with ancient Greek and Roman or with modern civilization, and finds in it merits and charms peculiarly its own, for which it is worth the study. His standpoint thus appears to be the same as that of Bury and Oman, who have reacted from Gibbon's too disparaging representations of Byzantinism. In the present work he gives practical evidence of his belief in the value of Byzantine life as a subject of study by undertaking a most thorough investigation of the extant collections of Byzantine proverbs. The object of the treatise is to compare and codify these collections and elucidate their obscurities. It contains an enumeration and description of the collections, a critical and descriptive classification of the MSS. in which they are found, the text of the proverbs with textual, dialectic, local and redactorial variants and explanatory notes. The aim of the author seems to be so to investigate the subject as to render the further investigation of it unnecessary, until perhaps some more light should break on it through the discovery of materials now unknown. This feature of the work constitutes its strength and weakness. It is its strength because the investigation is ideally thorough. One can hardly think of any particular in which greater exhaustiveness would have been desirable. In the notes and explanations, for instance, Krumbacher introduces all the light obtainable from parallels to these proverbs in the proverbs of other peoples—Albanian, Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, etc. The object of these parallels is twofold; i.e. either to elucidate the meaning of obscure proverbs by comparing them with some similar but clearer ones, or to show up some historic connection between them and those found in the Byzantine collections. It

is hardly necessary to say that in this latter particular the instances where such connection is established are very rare and limited to parallels from Classic Greek. The other object of the citation of parallels is clearly secured in a large number of cases. The author's diligence and painstaking in bringing these into comparison with the Byzantine proverbs cannot be too highly commended. This division of the work may furnish an illustration of what is meant by saying that the attempt to be absolutely exhaustive is the chief source of weakness in it. This effort leads the author into redundancy, and in many cases to the accumulation of explanations that do not explain. Such are the notes on proverbs numbered 9, 13, 21, and 28. Here much simpler and briefer notes, without interfering with the thoroughness of the work, would have served all purposes much better. So also in the presentation of the text the method of the author leads him into numerous digressions, confusion of order, and the traversing of the same ground over and over again unnecessarily. A little more attention to the proper condensation of the valuable materials gathered by Krumbacher would have added much to the usefulness of the work.

Krumbacher has made a correct diagnosis of the motive that led to the formation of these collections of proverbs in finding that motive in the desire of preachers to use these proverbs as illustrations and confirmations of religious truth. It can scarcely be doubted that the theological interest was more of a controlling factor in every department of thought and life at Byzantium than literary and historical knowledge as such. In this theological use therefore rather than in the philological value of the proverbs we are to find the secret of the making of these collections.

The general care and diligence spoken of as characteristic of the work is noticeable also in such details as the spelling and accentuation of words. It is only very rarely that even typographical errors such as *κηπουρέ* (p. 144) for *κηπουρέ*, or *αυγή* for *αἰγή* have been allowed to creep into the work.

A. C. ZENOS.

Chicago.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

PROFESSOR GARDNER in his reply to Mr. Mayor's article in the *Classical Review* criticizes also some remarks of mine which appeared elsewhere. He had maintained in his treatise that St. Luke's phrase 'breaking bread' or 'the breaking of the bread' indicates no more than the *agapé* or common meal of which the primitive Christians partook. To this I objected amongst other things that the words are hardly suitable for the description of an ordinary repast. In the Old Testament men invited their fellows to 'eat bread,' never to 'break bread.' Nor is it otherwise in Greek or Latin authors. The expression appeared to me to be newly invented by the Christians to describe their new ceremony.

Dr. Gardner replies that I am mistaken on this point, for in Isaiah lviii. 7 it is written 'Break thy bread to the hungry.' In answer to this I might plead for the rendering of the English version, which has been retained by the Revisers, 'Deal thy bread to the hungry,' but even if the literal meaning of the Hebrew root be pressed, my position, I think, is not seriously affected. It may be inhospitable to give broken meat to a guest, and yet praiseworthy to share your loaf with a starving brother. I shall be wrong in asserting that the phrase 'break bread' is never found in the Old Testament, but right in denying it to an ordinary meal.

Dr. Gardner next reminds me of the

practice of breaking bread in sacrifices. That I consider is hardly relevant to the present controversy. A primitive altar had no fire. The worshipper, who came to eat and rejoice before the Lord, daubed its sides with blood or placed fruits and offerings upon it. And as bread was hard and dry, needing to be broken for young children, so by a naive instinct Jehovah's cake was crushed to prepare it for His use. The existence of such ceremonies, if they have any bearing on this question, only makes it the more improbable that the Founder of the Lord's Supper should have gone for inspiration to Eleusis.

Are we to suppose that St. Paul was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries? To my mind it is almost inconceivable that the Apostle, notwithstanding his large-hearted liberality, should have consented to such a thing. But granting for the moment that he was ready, would there be no difficulties from the other side? Originally, I understand, initiation was confined to members of the tribe. Then it was thrown open to all Greeks. In St. Paul's time cosmopolitan ideas had so far prevailed, that a Roman emperor or governor and any person of rank and wealth, who desired to be initiated, would experience no great opposition. But would a poor man, and especially a Jew, have any chance?

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

Queens' College, Cambridge.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

CALYMNA AND LEROS.

It seems, when one looks at the map, a remarkable if not inexplicable thing, that the sea frontier of the Dorians and Ionians passes between Calymna and Leros. The two islands are so near: they are even linked by a series of small island stepping-stones, so that there is a legend of a Calymnian who used to swim across to visit his Lirian mistress,—a thing physically quite possible.

It is true that our few epigraphical documents from Leros are of late date.

We see it as a deme of Miletus, and it is perfectly possible that it was originally Dorian. We do not know at what time it was annexed by its great continental neighbour. It is also true that the existence at Calymna of a tribe of *Κυδρηλείοι* (see *Inscr. of Cos*, p. 354) is good enough evidence of the existence there of an Ionian element.

The Homeric Catalogue does not help us. If Leros were one of the *νήσοι Καλύδναι*, then it was Dorian, but these *νήσοι* may very well have been Calymna, Pserimos, and Telendos, and the plural

does not oblige us to include Leros among them. There are however certain physical conditions (and this is the object of this note) which separate Leros from Calymna. The northern tongue of Calymna is very barren and rugged. The only habitable part of Calymna is its southern part; so that Calymna is naturally averted from Leros and faces Cos, to which it was finally annexed. The only ancient ruin on the northern tongue of Calymna is at Emporió, somewhat north of Telendos. It is a very small fortress under a high cliff, in which is a cave, and contains an oil-press. The position and size of this fortress convince me that it was a place of refuge for the people of this little township. Their oil-press was within its walls because they kept pigs, who eat the refuse of the olives, and of course when they retired to their fastness, they took their pigs with them. I hope to publish a plan of this fortress and its oil-press together with other ancient oil-presses which Mr. Myres and I found in Asia Minor last year.

But north of Emporió there is a long barren tongue with no trace of any settlement. The geological structure of the two islands is also very different, Calymnos being almost entirely lime-stone, and Leros chiefly schist; and, what is most important, there is almost no intercourse between the two islands at the present day. The Calymnians are sponge-divers, the Lerians are ship-owners, doing a big carrying business, and having a sort of colony in Alexandria. In costume, customs, and sentiment the difference between the two islands is very wide.

It may be that, as I am now living here, I lay too much stress on the importance of this matter of determining the exact frontier of the Dorians and Ionians, and determining what were the conditions which fixed it here, but I certainly gather from Meyer's History that the matter is of great importance. I find no answer in this history to the problem of the omission from the Homeric Catalogue of the Ionians, I find no attempt to explain why the Dorians colonized the particular islands they did colonize; and in a book which states as a fact and not as a hypothesis that Odysseus was an Arcadian god, one might wish for some hypothesis about these things. Of course the book is a delightful one, since it contains nothing of which the author has not convinced himself after much labour, and one feels that his judgment is often creative and always sound; but my own

interest and knowledge are confined to a little corner of the ancient world, and I cannot help feeling that he has somewhat neglected this corner. However, I daresay that countless other people will feel that he has neglected their corners, and will be none the less grateful to him for his great book, which is the most life-giving History of Early Greece that I have read.

Calymna has not yet had a book written about it; Leros has (*Λεριακά, ὑπὸ Διον. Ι. Οικονομοπούλου* 1888). I may take this opportunity of stating that the plan of a so-called *φρυκτώριον* or beacon at Parthéni in the late Mr. Oeconomopoulos' book is quite fanciful. There is no temple in *antis*, as his plan gives. There is a tower and there are some remains of an outer wall—at some distance from the tower. His book is a very interesting book, and I was sorry not to be able to verify his plan. I made a copy of an inscription which he first published, and as it is of some interest and perhaps not generally known I give it here in cursive. The stone was found on an eminence near the sea at Parthéni. The exact site was pointed out to me. There are certain medieval ruins there, but nothing such as a church to indicate that this was the site of the temple of the Lorian Artemis Parthenos. This site still has to be found. The stone is now in the town-house of Leros.

Ἐπὶ Στεφανηφόρου Σωσιστράτου | μὲνός
Μεταγειννίωτος εἰκάδι | ἔδοξε Λερίων τοῖς
κατοικοῦσιν | ἐν Λέρῳ· Μενεκράτης Ἐπιγόνου,
| Ἡράκλειτος Τιμόν, Φιλιστείδης | Ἀριστο-
βούλου εἶπαν· ἐπειδὴ | Ἀριστόμαχος Δρόμωνος
κατο[ί]κων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐκ πλείονος χρό[νο]ν
τὴν τε ἀναστροφὴν πεποιήται μετὰ πάσης
εὐταξίας, ἔργαζόμενός τε τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν
| ἐργασίαν εὐχρηστον, ἐαυτὸν παρέχεται πρὸς
πάντων ὧν ἂν τί[ς] | χρεῖαν ἔχων τυχάνῃ· ὅπως
οὖν κα[ί] | ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται χάριν καὶ τιμ[ὴ]ν
| ἀπονέμων τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, δεδο[χ]θαι Λερίοις
τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν | Λέρῳ Ἀριστόμαχον μὲν
ἐπηνῆσθαι καὶ εἶναι ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ παρὰ τῷ |
πλήθ[ει]· δεδούσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱ[ε]ρῶν μετουσίαν
καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν | πάντων ὧν καὶ Λερίοις μέτεστιν·
| ἵνα δὲ φανερά διαμένῃ ἢ τε Ἀριστομάχου
προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ τ[οῦ] | δῆμον εὐχαριστία, τὸ
ψήφισμα | τὸδε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην [λι]-
| θίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ | τῆς Παρθένου,
τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον | εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάλωμα ὑπηρετήσ[αι]
| τοῖς χρυσονόμοις καὶ ἐνγράφ[ε]σθαι | εἰς τὸν
λόγον, τὸν δὲ γραμματεῖα παραλαβόντα τὸδε
<τὸ> ψήφισμα ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὰ δημόσια καὶ
διαφελίσσ<ειν> μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμα-
των.

The κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία suggests some

connexion with the present 'thalattocracy' of Leros, which is the only one of these islands that possesses big ships. Its beautiful harbour of Parthéni must always have made it an important naval station. Calymna has only one secure port at Vathi, and this is very small indeed, so it does not possess ships which are too big to be pulled up on the beach—or rather did not, for now it has a pier and quay and is getting on in the world. When the sponge-fishing industry, which now absorbs all the energy and capital of Calymna and Symi, began, I do not know. At present it has tended to bring these islands into close and direct intercourse with Europe, while Leros is somewhat turned away from Europe and looks to Alexandria. However, since Alexandria is very European and comparatively near Leros, Leros has become, externally at least, more European than Calymna. It would not be wise to say more, as I should trespass into politics. Our farewell to Leros in *ancient history* is, I fancy, the inscription I have quoted; our farewell to Calymna is Dio's oration to the Rhodians, in which he speaks of the Calymnians and Caunians in like terms and with extreme contempt. The Caunians are now reduced to a few fever-stricken peasants, while the Calymnians are far more full of life than the Rhodians, to whom Dio cited them as outsiders.

There is such a tendency on our part to trace fancied survivals (as in the case of this inscription and the present sea-power of Leros) that it is, I think, wise to call attention to such revolutions of history.

W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS,
July 2, 1894.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part i. 1894.

Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1893' (with Plate). A table is given showing the number of coins acquired during the years 1887–1893, the total amounting to 2,384 specimens. The number acquired during 1893 was 403 among which the following may be noticed. *Hebrytelmis* or *Hebryzelmis*, King of the Odrysae, B.C. 386–5. A unique coin (in bronze) of this ruler who was only previously known from an inscription found on the Acropolis of Athens and published by Lolling in 1889 (cp. A. Hoeck, *Hermes*, xxvi. 1891, p. 453 ff.). The coin reads ΕΒΡΥΤΕΛΜΙΟΞ. *Messalina*. An unpublished double-denarius, struck at Corinth (?), with a portrait of Messalina (rare on coins) and figures of Octavia, Britannicus, Antonia, *Pheneus* in *Arcadia*. A fine didrachm showing on the reverse Hermes carrying the young Arcas. *Adranityum* in *Mysia*. An unpublished silver coin in value $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cistophorus of the Province of Asia.

Lampsacus. A fine gold stater with a youthful head winged and wreathed with myrtle. Probably Eros. *Pergamum*. Remarks on the occurrence of *θεολόγος* on coins and in inscriptions. *Myrina*. Two very rare drachms corresponding in type to the well-known tetradrachms with the type of the Apollo of Gryniun. *Phocaea*. An archaic electrum stater struck B.C. 602–560, the period when the Phocaeans were supreme at sea. This stater has hitherto been only known from a specimen in the Munich Collection. *Titipolis* (Isauria). A bronze coin of Commodus dated 'year 3.' Rare coins, of Titipolis, of Hadrian, and of Carnacalla and Geta have been previously published (cp. Waddington, *Rev. Num.* 1883, p. 37 f.; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 366). Review by B. V. Head of C. F. Lehmann's 'Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichts-system.'

Numismatische Zeitschrift. (Vienna, 1894.) Vol. xxv. Part 2. July–Dec. 1893.

O. Voetter. 'Die römischen Münzen des Kaisers Gordianus III. und deren antiken Fälschungen.' Th. Rohde. 'Silber-Antoniniane der römischen Kaiserin Sulpicia Dryantilla.'

Revue Numismatique. Part 4, 1893.

Blanchet. 'Monnaies grecques inédites ou peu connues.' Coins in the collection of Prince P. de Saxe-Cobourg.

Part 1, 1894.

Th. Reinach. 'La date de Pheidon.' Reinach calls in question two statements of Aristotle: (i) that Pheidon struck coins in the island of Aegina, (ii) that the iron *δραχμαί* dedicated by Pheidon in the temple of the Argive Hera were deposited by him, at the time when he introduced a coinage into Argolis, as primitive and disused media of exchange. Reinach accepts the dedication of the *δραχμαί* as a fact, but supposes them to have been *standard weights* and not primitive substitutes for coinage. Pheidon was inaugurating a system of weights and not a system of coinage. He had thus nothing directly to do with the invention of coinage and cannot have lived later than *circa* B.C. 650 when the coinage of Aegina first appeared. The Aeginetan coins are struck on the Pheidonian system, and if we suppose that it took about a century for that weight-system to be applied to coinage, the date of Pheidon will be fixed *circa* B.C. 748, which is the date recorded by Pausanias (vi. 22, 2). J. A. Blanchet. 'Tétradrachme archaïque de Syracuse.' A tetradrachm in the collection of Mme. A. Hartmann, remarkable for having an incuse square, without type, on the reverse. Is the genuineness of this specimen beyond all question? The absence of any similar coins in Sicily and the peculiarly *Macedonian* character of the reverse raise in my mind the suspicion that the piece may be a product of a modern school of forgers who especially affect the ancient money of Macedonia and Thrace. M. Blanchet has however the advantage of having seen the original coin. H. De la Tour. 'Monnaies gauloises recueillies dans la forêt de Compiègne.' Memoir of W. H. Waddington, by E. Babelon.

Part 2, 1894.

E. Babelon. 'Études sur les monnaies primitives d'Asie mineure.' I. Trouville de Samos. On a find recently made in the island of Samos of archaic electrum coins of Euboic weight. This find is important as suggesting the attribution of the coins. Babelon believes them all to be of Samos itself, though some similar pieces have been previously classed to Chalcis in Euboea. Babelon comments on the historical relations between Samos and Chalcis in early times and suggests that Euboea received the

'Euhoic' standard from Samos, a standard that would be more properly called the 'Samian.' W. M. Ramsay. 'Colonia Niniva ou Ninica?' Prof. Ramsay arrives at the important conclusion—as M. Waddington had done independently—that all the coins hitherto assigned to Nineveh in Assyria are wrongly ascribed. The evidence for the existence of a Roman colony (the supposed 'Niviva Claudio-

polis') at Nineveh thus falls to the ground. The coins belong to 'Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Ninica Claudiopoliis,' a Cilician town which, Ramsay supposes, may be identical with Juliosebaste. Other coins reading ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ are assigned to Claudiopoliis (*Mul*) on the road from Laranda to Celenderis.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. Sept.—Dec. 1893.

CAESAR AND HIS CONTINUATORS, by R. Schneider.

I. Editions. *C. Julii Caesaris comment. de bello Gallico*, by J. Prammer. 4th ed., Leipzig 1891. Has a new appendix on the Roman military system. *C. Julii Caesaris bell. Gall. lib. VII. und A. Hirtii lib. VIII.*, by A. Doberenz. 9th ed. by B. Dinter, Leipzig 1892. Quite brought up to date. *C. Julii Caesaris comment. de bello civili*, ed. R. Novák. Praga 1893. On the whole founded on Paul's edition. Jules César, *Commentaires sur la guerre des Gaules*, by M. E. Benoist and M. S. Dossen. Paris 1893. Benoist's name is merely a bait for buyers as he had nothing to do with it. Has no scientific worth.

II. Manuscripts and text-criticism. A Polaschek, *Vielhaber in libros Pseudocesarianos adnotationes criticae*. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1891. Contains V.'s remarks on the Bell. Alexandrinum. A. Polaschek, *Der Caesarodez Viadobonensis* 95. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. Contains the variants of V. for the Bell. Hispaniense. E. Gruppe, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. A list of passages in B. G. alleged to be interpolations. G. Karo, Rh. Mus. 1893. Gives three readings in B. C. i. from Cod. Laur. Ashburnhamensis 33. Various conjectures, emendations and interpretations are given by the following: On Bell. Gall. H. Schiller (Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. xxvii. 294, 618), J. Lange (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 pp. 199, 508: 1892 p. 595), J. Schmidt (Wien. Stud. xiii. 326), A. Polaschek (Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1890 p. 306), E. Dittich (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892 p. 132), F. Weck (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 p. 205), and Deiter (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 p. 736): On Bell. Civ. H. Schiller (Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. xxvii. 284 and xxviii. 292), A. Polaschek (Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1891 p. 989), K. P. Schulze (Progr. Berlin 1893), and D. May (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 p. 508): On Bell. Afr. Funk (Philol. 1890 p. 673).

III. The authors of the continuations. T. Widmann, *Über den Verfasser des bell. Afr. und die Pollio-hypothese Landgrafs*. Philol. 1891. Concludes (1) the composer is a member of the 5th legion, (2) Pollio stands in no connexion with the 5th legion, (3) there is no probability that P. was present as an eye-witness to all the campaign, which was the case with the composer. H. Mülken, *In commentarium de bello Africano quaestiones criticae*. Diss. Strassburg 1892. Against Landgraf. Wölflin's over-valued Leidensis is untrustworthy. About 90 places are discussed where W. has found interpolations. J. Zingerle, *Zur Frage nach der Autorschaft des bell. Alexandr. und dessen Stellung im Corpus Caesarianum*. Wien. Stud. xiv. Seeks to show that Caesar's genuine work reaches to bell. Alex. c. 21. H. Schiller, *Die Cäsar Ausgabe des Hirtius*. Philol.

1892. Considers that the question of authorship must be determined by the supplements themselves rather than by the literary evidence of Hirtius and Suetonius.

IV. The Rhine-bridge. Fr. Hermes, *Zu Cäsars Rheinbrücke*. Gymnasium x. On iv. 17, 6 *quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat*, which has given occasion to Hubo, *noch einmal Cäsars Rheinbrücke*, Gymn. x. on sublae, and Hubo, *Zu Cäsars Rheinbrücke*, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892.

V. Geography and topography. E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*. Vol. iv. Paris 1893. On the network of roads and the sources of the topography. Concluded after D.'s death by Longnon. A standard work on the subject. Stoffel, *Guerre de César et d'Arioniste et premières opérations de César en l'an 702*. Paris 1890. Shows more clearly than any one has yet done the site of the battle at the foot of the Vosges. It needs no further investigation.

VI. On the military system. Stoffel, *Remarques sur l'ouvrage intitulé: des Kriegswesen Cäsars par M. Franz Fröhlich*. Rev. de Phil. 1891. While recognizing the diligence and care of Fröhlich, Stoffel misses the military knowledge, which is indispensable. F. Giesing, *Beiträge zur römischen Taktik*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. Divides the cohort-legion into three classes, viz. *primi*, *priores*, *posteriores*. R. Schneider, *Legion und Phalanx*. Berlin 1893. A historical account of ancient and modern tactics.

VII. Smaller articles of various contents. H. d'Artois de Jubainville, *Les noms gaulois chez César et Hirtius de bello Gallico*. Paris 1891. O. E. Schmidt, *Der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges im Jahre 49 v. Chr.* Rh. Mus. 1892. Tries to show that even in the stormy time of transition to Caesarism the old constitutional forms played a larger part than is generally suspected. O. Sumpff, *Cäsars Beurteilung seiner Officiere in den Kommentarien vom gallischen Kriege*. Progr. Quedlinburg 1892. C. deliberately disparages the merit of his officers. F. Cramer, *Cäsar und seine Zeit bis zum Beginn des Gallischen Krieges*. Progr. Mülheim a. Rh. 1890. A good sketch of C.'s life to b.c. 58. F. Cramer, *Kriegswesen und Geographie zur Zeit Cäsars*. Progr. Mülheim a. Rh. 1892. The military part is inadequate, the geographical well done. Plochmann, *Cäsars Sprachgebrauch in Bezug auf die Syntax der Casus*. Progr. Schweinfurt 1891. Without special value, S. Elias, *Vor- und Gleichzeitigkeit bei Cäsar I. Bedingungs- und Folgesätze*. Progr. Berlin 1893.

VIII. Lexicons. H. Meusel, *Lexicon Caesarianum*. Vol. ii. Berlin 1893. A masterpiece of lexicography, and at the same time a complete critical edition of the text. O. Eichert, *Schulwörterbuch zu den Komment. vom Gallischen Kriege*. 7th edition. Breslau 1891. H. Ebeling, *Schulwörterbuch*

zu Cäsar. 4th ed. by R. Schneider. Leipzig 1892.

Finally comes appendix *Das Marschgepäck der Legionäre* in which the works of Rüstow, Fröhlich and Stoffel are noticed. The writer agrees with S. in saying that the legionary carried food for one or two days as a rule. Comparisons are also drawn with modern armies.

HERODOTUS, by H. Kallenberg.

I. Editions. *Herodotos*, by J. Sitzler. Book vii. 2nd ed. Gotha 1892. The text thoroughly revised and mostly improved. *Herodotos*, by K. Abicht, vol. v. books viii., ix. with two maps. 4th ed. Leipzig 1892. *Herodotos*, books v., vi. by E. Abbott. Oxford 1893. Stein's text followed. The chief value lies in the historical excursuses. *Herodotos* by H. Stein, vol. ii., part i., book iii., 4th ed. and vol. v. books viii. ix., 4th ed. Berlin 1893. The whole has been gone over again. Stein's opinion is that H. has not put the finishing touches to his work.

II. Dissertations and smaller contributions. *Sagaue, 56 im Nachsatz bei Herodot.* Breslau 1893. A completion and correction of Gomperz's paper (Sitzungsber. der phil. hist. Kl. der Akad. der Wissensch. zu Wien. 1883, pp. 543-553). A. W. Förstemann, *De vocabulis quae videntur esse apud Herodotum poetice*. Diss. Magdeburg 1892. Words common to Herodotus and Homer are not necessarily poetical but merely Ionic. F. Krapp, *Der substantivirte Infinitiv abhängig von Präpositionen und Präpositionswörterchen in der historischen Gräcität (Herodot bis Zosimus)*. Diss. Heidelberg 1892. A careful statistical account. This form of the article infn. begins with H. (9 cases), reaches its highest point in Polyb., then declines but revives again in Herodian and Zosimus. Lell, *Der absolute Akkusativ im Griechischen bis zu Aristoteles*. Progr. Würzburg 1892. Devotes two pages to Herodotus. A. von Domaszewski, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Perserkriege* Heidelberg 1891. I. The panhellenic confederation on the Delphian serpent-column. II. The return of the Persian fleet after Salamis. H. Welzhofer, *Der Kriegszug des Datis und die Schlacht bei Marathon*. Hist. Taschenbuch 1892, and *Zur*

Geschichte der Perserkriege III.—VII. Neue Jahrb. Vol. 145. Maintains that Darius and Xerxes had a respect for Greece and that a feeling of opposition between these two branches of the Aryan stock was not in existence at that time, but, says rev., there is nothing to show that the Persians looked on the Greeks as nearer to them than the Semites or Egyptians. N. Wecklein, *Themistokles und die Seeschlacht bei Salamis*. München 1892. Warns us against Duncker's method of combining the account of H. with that of later historians who either expand or even pervert him. R. Neumann, *Nordafrika (mit Ausschluss des Nilgebietes) nach Herodot.* Leipzig 1892. A book of the same kind as Hugues' *L'Africa secondo Erodoto* [Cl. Rev. vii. 233], but N. deals with plants, animals and men as well as with topography. J. Krall, *Zu Herodot.* Eranos Vindob. pp. 283, 284. On ii. iii. J. E. B. Mayor, *Journ. Phil.* xxi. Compares Her. ii. 121 with the Passion of Theodotus c. 31-34. A. Weiske, *Zu Herodot.* N. Jahrb. vol. 145. Justifies the delay of the Spartans before Marathon (Her. vi. 106). H. Kostlin, *Isagoras und Kleisthenes*. Philol. N. F. v. On Her. v. 66, vi. 131. See also for Herodotus the important third vol. of K. Müllenhoff's *Deutscher Alterthumskunde*. Berlin 1892.

Appendix. K. Abicht, *Uebersicht über den Dialekt des Herodotos*. 4th ed. Leipzig 1893. Practically the same as that contained in the introduction to vol. i. of his edition. *Herodotos*, by K. Abicht. Vol. iv. Book vii. with two maps. 4th ed. Leipzig 1893. Very little altered. H. Welzhofer, *Die Schlacht bei Salamis*. Hist. Taschenbuch 1892. Tries to depreciate the glory of the Greeks and to raise that of their enemies.

This year's Jahresbericht concludes with an essay by W. Nitsche on 'Old Interpolations in Plato's Apology.' He finds these in c. 10, the beginning of c. 22, and the end of c. 27, and the foundation of his view is found in c. 30. The interpolations are attributed to one who was a well-wisher neither to Plato nor Socrates, a man of their time who had access to the archetype of our MSS., in short to Aristoxenos the Musician.

R. C. S.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Abhandlungen des archaeologisch-epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien, herausgegeben von O. Benndorf und E. Bormann. XI. Heft. 8vo. 151 pp. 55 engravings. Wien, Holder. 5 Mk.

[Contains: Ueber homerische Waffen, archaeologische Untersuchungen von W. Reichel.]

Aeschylus. Scholia in Aeschyli Persas, rec., apparatu critico instruit, cum praefatione de archetypo codicum Aeschyli scripta ed. O. Dähnhardt. 8vo. lxvi, 275 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 3 Mk. 60.

Aesop. Hausrath (Dr. Aug.) Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung der Aesopischen Fabeln. 8vo. 63 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk.

[Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21 Suppl. Bd.]

Anthologia graeca. Sakolowski (P.) De anthologia palatina quaestiones. 8vo. vi, 81 pp. Leipzig, Gräfe. 1 Mk. 60.

Berger (Dr. C. P. jr.) Neue Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte Roms. I. Die Bildung des grossen römisch-latinischen Bundesstaates (358 | 396-342 | 412). 8vo. 48 pp. 1 coloured map. Amsterdam, J. Müller. 2 Mk. 25.

Carminum Salarium reliquiae, ed. B. Maurenbrecher. 8vo. 42 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk.

[Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21 Suppl. Bd.]

Cassius Dio. Maisel (Dr. H.) Beiträge zur Würdigung der Handschriften des Cassius Dio. 8vo. 35 pp. Leipzig, Fock. 1 Mk. 50.

Cicilius. Lettres à Cicéron (VIIe livre des Lettres familières). Texte latin, publié avec un commentaire critique et explicatif et une traduction par F. Antoine. 8vo. 189 pp. Paris.

Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique pour les années 1882-1888. Imperial 4to. iv, cccxxv, 97 pp. Engravings. 2 plates. With

- Atlas in Imperial Folio. 6 plates. St. Petersburg. 16 Mk.
- Curtius* (Ernst.) Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Bd. II. 8vo. xii, 562 pp. 15 engravings, and 9 plates. Berlin, Besser. 12 Mk.
- Démosthène*. Sept philippiques, publiées avec une introduction, des notices, un commentaire, des notes critiques et un index archéologique par Ch. Baron. 12mo. 399 pp. Paris, Colin.
- Dörpfeld* (W.) Troja 1893. Bericht über die im Jahre 1893 in Troja veranstalteten Ausgrabungen. Unter Mitwirkung von A. Brueckner, Max Weigel und Wilh. Wilberg. 8vo. v, 140 pp. 83 engravings. 2 coloured maps. Leipzig, Brockhaus. 5 Mk.
- Eck* (T.) Saint-Quentin dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge, récit relatant les intéressantes découvertes faites dans cette ville en 1892 et 1893, suivi d'une notice sur une trouvaille de monnaies romaines faite à Fontaine Uterto. 8vo. 51 pp. Paris.
- Ferrette* (Jul.) Ulysses Panhellen, poema heroicum, graecas radices universas, ut 3150 censas, iunctissimas descendas in versibus 617 continens. Omnium gratia graecae linguae studiosorum Myrandum Gyrodi perfecti J. F. Ed. II. 8vo. xii, 94 pp. Genf, Stapelmohr. 1 Mk. 60.
- Forstemann* (Albr.) Zur Geschichte des Aeneasmythus. Litterargeschichtliche Studien. 8vo. 104 pp. Magdeburg, Creutz. 2 Mk. 80.
- Frericks* (Dr. Herm.) Der Apoll von Belvedere. Eine archaologische Studie. 8vo. 79 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh. 1 Mk. 60.
- Galen* (Claudii) proreptici quae supersunt. Ed. G. Kaibel. 8vo. ix, 62 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 2 Mk.
- Geist* (Dr. Herm.) Was bieten die antiken Schriftsteller der modernen Jugend? Pt. I. Die Historiker. 8vo. 153 pp. Posen, Ebbecke. 2 Mk. 50.
- Gellius*, Hertz (M.) Supplementum apparatus Gelliani. 8vo. 48 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 40.
- [Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21. Suppl. Bd.]
- Glene* (Dr. Herm.) De homicidarum in areopago Atheniensi iudicio. 8vo. 52 pp. Göttingen, Dieterich's Verlag. 1 Mk.
- Grabreliefs, Die attischen, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien. 6 Lfg. Royal Folio. pp. 131—170, engravings and 25 plates. Berlin, Spemann. 60 Mk.
- Haas* (Dr. G. E.) Der Geist der Antike. Eine Studie. 8vo. xvi, 575 pp. Graz, Moser. 6 Mk.
- Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Dr. Iwan von Müller. 6. Bd. 2. Thl. (19. Halbband.) 8vo. München, Beck. 5 Mk. 50.
- [Contains: Klassische Kunstarchaeologie von Dr. K. Sittl. (2 Thl. 305—624 pp.)]
- Héron d'Alexandrie*. Longraire (L. de.) Notice bibliographique sur la traduction des Mécaniques de Héron d'Alexandrie de M. le Baron Carra de Vaux. 8vo. 28 pp., engravings. Paris.
- Horatius*, Friedrich (Gust.) Q. Horatius Flaccus, Philologische Untersuchungen. 8vo. vi, 232 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 6 Mk.
- Jamblichi in Nicomachi arithmetica introductionem liber, ad fidem codicis Florentini ed. II. Pistelli. 8vo. ix, 195 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 40.
- Kiepert* (Heinr.) Formae orbis antiqui. 36 maps. Mit kritischem Text und Quellenangaben zu jeder Karte. Lfg. I. (6 maps and 26 pp. of letterpress.) Berlin, D. Reimer. 4 Mk. 80.
- Lanciani* (Rud.) Forma urbis Romae. Consilio et auctoritate regiae academiae Lynceorum formam dimensus est et ad modulum 1 : 1000 delineavit R. L. Part II. (6 maps à 57 × 87 ctm.) Milan, Hoepli. 20 Mk.
- Lucien de Samosate*. Scènes de la vie des courtisanes, traduites littéralement sur le texte de Karl Jacobitz par Pierre Louys. 16mo. 159 pp. Paris.
- Meissner* (Bruno.) Alexander und Gilgames. 8vo. 19 pp. Leipzig, Pfeiffer. 1 Mk.
- Monumenta Germaniae historica. Quarto Series: Auctorum antiquissimorum tomus XI. pars 2: Chronica minora saeculorum iv, v, vi, vii, ed. Th. Mommsen. Vol. II. Fasc. 2. Royal 4to. v, pp. 241—506. 2 plates. Berlin, Weidmann. 9 Mk.
- Omout* (H.) Inscriptions grecques de Salonique, recueillies au XVIIIe siècle par J. B. Germain. 8vo. 19 pp. Paris. (Extrait de la Revue archéologique.)
- Pauli* (Prof. Dr. C.) Altitalische Forschungen. Bd. 2. Eine vorgriechische Handschrift von Lemnos. Abtheilung II. 8vo. iv, 262 pp. Leipzig, J. A. Barth. 14 Mk.
- Pernice* (Dr. Erich.) Griechische Gewichte, gesammelt, beschrieben und erläutert. 8vo. vi, 215 pp. 1 plate. Berlin, Weidmann. 6 Mk.
- Phaedri fabulae*. Texte latin, publié avec une notice sur Phèdre, des notes en français et les imitations de la Fontaine et de Florian, par E. Talbert. 16mo. iv, 140 pp. Paris.
- Plautus*, Siewert (Dr. P.) Plautus in Amphitruone fabula quomodo exemplar graecum transulerit. 8vo. 85 pp. Leipzig, Fock. 2 Mk.
- Plinius*. Der Jüngere, Ausgewählte Briefe. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Dr. A. Kreuser. 8vo. iv, 143 pp. 1 plate. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 50.
- Ptolemaeus*. Boll (Dr. Frz.) Studien über Claudius Ptolemaeus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Astrologie. 8vo. 198 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 5 M. 60.
- [Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21. Suppl. Bd.]
- Prisciani* (Theodori) Euporiston libri III., cum Physicorum fragmento et additamentis Pseudo-Theodoreis editi a Valentino Rose. Accedunt Vindiciani Afri quae feruntur reliquiae. 8vo. xxviii, 554 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 5 Mk.
- Reinach* (T.) Une page de musique grecque. 8vo. 26 pp. Paris. 2 Frs.
- Riemann* (O.) Syntaxe latine, d'après les principes de la grammaire historique. 3e édition, revue par P. Lejay. 12mo. xiv, 641 pp. Paris.
- Schwarz* (Gymn.-Director Dr. W.) Nachklänge prähistorischen Volksglaubens im Homer. Mit einem Anhang über eine Hexenfarth der Hera und die sogenannte Hexensalbe. 8vo. 52 pp. Berlin, O. Seehagen. 1 Mk. 60.
- Studien (Griechische) Herman Lipsius zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht. 8vo. 187 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 6 Mk.
- Leipzig, zur classischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von O. Ribbeck, H. Lipsius, C. Wachsmuth. 15 Bd. 2 Heft. 8vo. pp. 275—467. With 2 coloured maps and 4 plates. Leipzig, S. Hirzel. 7 Mk.
- Terentius*. Lalin (Dr. Esaias.) De particularum comparativarum usu apud Terentium. 4to. 34 pp. Norreopiae. 1 Mk. 60.